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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

9 JULY 1987

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## SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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## PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

### GROSSU SPEECH AT MOLDAVIAN CP CC PLENUM

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 17 Mar 87 pp 1-4

[Unattributed report on speech by S. K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, to the 5th Moldavian CP Central Committee Plenum held 14 March 1987: "On the Tasks of the Republic Party Organization Stemming From the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum Resolution 'On the Party's Restructuring and Cadre Policy'"]

[Text] Comrades!

The January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which examined the question "On the Restructuring and the Personnel Policy of the Party" is a most important event in the life of the party and the people, a special landmark on the road to acceleration and restructuring. If the April Plenum gave us the possibility to comprehend the situation in the country and in general form developed the policy of socio-economic acceleration, and the 27th Congress of the party reinforced this policy, having developed it into a large-scale strategic decision, the January Central Committee Plenum proposed to the party and the people far-reaching measures in regard to the successful realization of the policy approved by the party congress and in regard to the prevention of a repetition of the negative phenomena that took place in the past.

The historic significance of the January Central Committee Plenum consists in the fact that it thoroughly and comprehensively exposed the reasons and the roots of the accumulated problems and the stagnant phenomena, provided an extensive analysis of the revolutionary transformations taking place in our country after the 27th Party Congress, and determined the basic directions of personnel policy--the chief link of the restructuring.

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum met with the warm approval of the communists and all workers of the republic. The report of the general secretary of the Central Committee, comrade M. S. Gorbachev, was perceived by them as a document armed with a historic analysis and the theoretical foundation of the unfolding process of restructuring, as determining the directives of the party for acceleration and renewal. They are fully resolved to work with redoubled energy and creative inspiration so as to realize more quickly the program of concrete actions developed by the party in regard to the implementation of the strategic policy of the 27th CPSU Congress.



As is well known, at the Central Committee Plenum a severe assessment was given of our work in connection with the manifestations, in our republic in extremely ugly forms, of negative processes connected with the regeneration of personnel and with violations of socialist legality. The Moldavian party organization has proved to be among those which did not secure strict observance of Leninist norms and principles of party life and did not conduct a resolute struggle against the weakening of discipline, padding, and deception.

Impartial, but just criticism. It logically emanates from the well-known decree of the CPSU Central Committee and makes it incumbent to try to understand in the most serious manner the phenomena we have in our republic that are foreign to socialism, to analyze the actions both of the Moldavian CP Central Committee and the party committees and organizations of cities and rayons, and to determine the directions of the economic and moral-political improvement [ozdorovleniye] of the republic and the restoration of its good name.

It is well known that approximately from the mid-1970's the republic began to lose the tempo of forward movement and stagnant phenomena began to be felt in the economy. The slump continued in the 11th Five-Year Plan. The growth rates of the national income during 1981-1985, by comparison with the 10th Five-Year Plan, decreased by one third. In the development of social production, tendencies of an external character manifested themselves increasingly more perceptibly, there was an increase in the output-capital ratio and in material-intensiveness, and there was a reduction in the capital-output ratio. The disproportions between the production and social spheres intensified.

The reasons for the braking were not exposed in time, and the measures that were taken in regard to the intensification of production were indeterminate. Many cadres, continuing by inertia to praise the previously attained results, side-stepped negative indicators. A gap arose between word and deed, which was frequently re-covered not through an improvement of work, but through deception and padding.

The sources of the situation that has developed are seen, above all, in the serious omissions in the management of economic and cultural construction, in the style and methods of the work of the party, Soviet, and economic organs, which was pointed out to us in the CPSU Central Committee decree of 12 December 1983 on the basis of the account of the Moldavian CP Central Committee. The party organs frequently have permitted cases of the substitution and duplication of state and economic organs and laid special emphasis on the command style of management. Many workers did not become involved in the formation of decisions in regard to the most important economic questions and waited for instructions from above, which led to the reduction of their initiative and responsibility for the final results of the work.

The requisite attention was not given to the development of a scientifically-grounded strategy of economic and social development of the territory, as the result of which preciseness and definiteness of perspective were lost. Insufficiently considered decisions on an increasingly broad basis began to enter into the practice of management; subjectivism was permitted.

From all of this, the republic party organization learned lessons. At the 6th Moldavian CP Congress, and especially at the 6th Central Committee Plenum, the work of the directive organs of the republic was subjected to serious analysis and sharp criticism, the reasons for the shortcomings and negative phenomena were exposed; the personnel reorganizations which then followed and the increased demands made of managers and all communists made it possible to develop constructive measures that are conducive to our advancement along the road of restructuring and acceleration, along the road of the joint creation of a healthy moral atmosphere.

As a consequence, positive tendencies are gaining strength, openness and an uncompromising attitude toward shortcomings are becoming increasingly firmly established, management is being improved, and the main thing--the dynamism of the economy and social development is growing. During the past year, the national income (produced) was increased by 5.1 percent with an average annual income during the 11th Five-Year Plan of 3.3 percent. The rates of the growth of the productivity of public labor increased by more than one and half times; the entire growth of the national income was received by virtue of this factor. The volume of industrial production was increased by 6.2 percent, the gross production of agriculture--by 8.5 percent. The rates obtained in these sectors exceeded the average annual plan projected by the five-year plan.

There has been an increase in the productivity of fields and farms, plans for production and the sale of many types of products to the state have been fulfilled, and the task for deliveries of food to the all-union fund has been realized. There has been an expansion in the scales of housing and social and cultural construction. The retail commodity turnover rose by 5.9 percent. This is the desert of the labor collectives, party organizations and cadres.

But, comrades, can one call the attained results a new quality of work? No, impossible. The Bureau of the republic's communist party Central Committee believes that, of the plans and measures outlined by us, no more has been done than has been done, that radical changes for the better have not yet taken place, and that the decisions of the 16th Moldavian CP Congress and the subsequent Central Committee Plenums are being implemented slowly.

Conservatism, inertia, and obsolete thinking are hardy as before. The managers of a number of ministries and departments, many enterprises, organizations and farms have not gone deeply into the new system of management and labor organization and have not attained radical changes in the situation in their subdivisions, in the regularity and efficiency of the work of enterprises. This is convincingly indicated by the fact that in the past year plans for the sale of industrial production, the volume of gross production of agriculture, capital construction, and a number of other important indicators proved to be unfulfilled by the republic.

Serious shortcomings continue to take place in the work of industry. With the overall fulfillment of the 1986 plan for the volume of industrial production by the republic, it was not fulfilled by the cities of Bendery, Orgeyev, Rybnitsa, Soroki, and 18 rayons, including Kamenskiy, Lazovski, Suvorovski, Dumbravenskiy, and Grigoriopolskiy rayons, and others.

For the first time in a number of years, the plan for the sale of industrial production proved to be unfulfilled. An especially large gap with respect to this indicator was permitted by Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee]. Almost 17 percent of the associations and enterprises of this system sold less than the planned volume of production.

Such a very important indicator as the securing of 100-percent delivery of production in accordance with contract obligations was not fulfilled by industry. Every fourth enterprise failed to cope with them. Among them are the Kishenev Plant for Household Chemicals, the Faleshty Machine Building Plant, many enterprises of the Ministry of Local Industry, the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, Gosagroprom, and other departments. In light industry, the number of enterprises which have frustrated the plans for deliveries in accordance with contracts, during the past year, by comparison with the preceding year, doubled, and the sum of underdeliveries increased by a factor of more than 8.

A still more troubled situation has developed in the republic's industry in the first 2 months of the current year. The examination of this question in the Bur<sup>o</sup> of the Central Committee showed that in many labor collectives, people, from the first days of the second year of the five-year plan, treated the realization of the plans without the proper responsibility and did a poor job of preparing for work in winter conditions. Evidence of this are the interruption in energy supply, the shortage of standard reserves of raw material, the lack of preparation of equipment, the understaffing of the subdivisions for loading and unloading work, and as a result--a slump in the rates of development and plan disruptions.

The production program for the first 2 months was not fulfilled by industry, the construction organizations, and transportation of the republic. Disruptions were permitted by every fifth enterprise; moreover, every third--lowered the volume of industrial production by comparison with the corresponding period of the past year. The plan for deliveries was fulfilled only to the extent of 97.5 percent. The plans for the production of consumer goods, whose volume decreased by comparison with the corresponding period of the past year, were disrupted. The plan failed to receive 34,000 pairs of footwear, 596,000 units of knitted goods, textile haberdashery for 348,000 rubles, and a significant quantity of silk and wool fabrics, and ready-made garments. There was a deterioration in the indicators of production efficiency and the plan for labor productivity and the reduction of production cost was not fulfilled.

Particular concern is called forth by the work of the machine building complex. According to the results of 2 months, 27 enterprises out of 45 did not fulfill the state plans for the production and sale of production, 21--the plans for production deliveries in accordance with contracts concluded. The greatest gap was allowed by the Kishinev Refrigerator Plant (director: S. P. Ovdienko), the Volna Association (M. M. Garshtya), the Tiraspol Elektromash [Electric Machinery] Plant (I. M. Dobrovolskiy), and the Beltsy Production Association (V. P. Stetsenko).

Many explain the unsatisfactory work results at the beginning of the year by the breach of economic relations with other enterprises. This actually does



take place. But to give emphasis only to this circumstance means not to see the long term, to withdraw oneself from the domestic reasons that aggravate the situation, which constitute the essence of the problem.

Today it must be emphasized that the managers of many enterprises were not able to make full use of the levers of efficiency proposed by the restructuring. As a result, the labor collectives are working in an unstable manner, irregularity and crash work are taking place, production discipline is lagging behind the demands of the time, and superficial reserves have begun to operate--and what is more, by far not everywhere.

The chief reasons for the shortcomings in industry are extremely slow elimination of the technical backwardness of the enterprises and the insufficient understanding of what "restructuring" means--"it is the decisive turn to science and an effective partnership of practice with it in the interest of achieving high final results. . . ."

In spite of the decisions that have been adopted and the numerous directives that exist in regard to the question of the accelerated introduction of the achievements of science and technology in production, there was no fundamental change in the attention of cadres to it. The plan for the development of science and technology for 1986 was fulfilled only to the extent of 91 percent. In the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, Gosagroprom, the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the Ministry of Construction, the Ministry of Communications, the Ministry of Local Industry, and the Ministry of Highways, the indicators of plan fulfillment for the introduction of the achievements of science and technology even deteriorated by comparison with the year 1985. I. I. Demchenko, V. A. Ryabchich, V. P. Russu, N. D. Kudryavtsev, and I. S. Bolbat in essence ignored the directives of the June conference in the CPSU Central Committee in regard to questions of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, for what has been done in the industries in this direction cannot be seriously accepted as the active realization of the demands of the scientific-technical revolution.

By far not all managers understand that the renewal of the production potential and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress--these are tasks which must be solved in combination with the maximum use of their own possibilities. To date the managers and specialists of only a limited number of enterprises have concerned themselves with the improvement of the technological processes and the improvement of the use of equipment through their own efforts. These include the Alfa Plant, the Metallurgical Plant, the Plant for Foundry Machinery imeni S. M. Kirov, the Schetmash [Calculating Machine] Production Association, the Plodselkhoz mash [not further identified] Production Association, the Tiraspol PKhBO [not further identified], and the furniture industry. In other enterprises they show no initiative and wait for tasks from the ministry.

During the past year, even in the machine building enterprises, the volumes of the work operations being fulfilled toward these ends did not exceed 3 percent of the total volume of production, and in such enterprises as the Moldavgidromash [Moldavian Compressor Pumps and Fittings] Scientific Production Association--0.6 percent, the Vibropribor [Vibration Instruments] Plant--0.9 percent, and the Elektromashina [Electric Machine Building] Plant--1.4 percent. In the

enterprises of the other industries, including those of the republic economy, this work is being conducted on a still lower level.

Unfortunately, not even in the current year are marked changes noted. The total volume of work being fulfilled in regard to the technical improvement of the enterprises' own production is growing only by 3.5 to 4 percent, at the same time when the task was set to bring it up to no less than 10 percent.

This is the result of the obsolete stereotypes of the thinking of cadres, the torpedoing of the processes of restructuring and renewal. Also connected with this is the absence of initiative in the increase of the shift system of the work of highly-productive equipment. In 1986, in Kishinev, slightly more than 1,000 units of equipment were transferred to 2-3 shift work, which did not significantly influence the coefficient of its use and did not introduce changes in the plans of the reconstruction of the enterprises.

At the Orgeyev Machine Building Plant (director: V. P. Ivanov), the coefficient of the shift system of machine tools with numerical program control constitutes only 0.77 percent. At the Bendery Machine Building Plant (director: V.I. Yarovoy), plans call for the increase, by 1990, of the coefficient of the shift system with numerical program control to a total of six-hundredths, but, you see, there is a large stock of such machines here.

Things are somewhat better in Beltsy, where the proportion of metal-cutting equipment being used in three shifts increased from 57 to 79 percent and in Tiraspol, where the shift system coefficient for highly-productive equipment was increased from 1.51 to 1.81 percent. At the same time, even here the conditions for the more intensive use of the production potential were not created.

In the current year, the transfer of equipment to 2-3 shift work was secured by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU. The essence of the plan is utmost simple: To obtain the maximum output from highly-productive equipment, to dispose of the old, to open up the path of modernization, and to direct the funds released from new construction to housing, social and cultural projects. In connection with this, every enterprise must have a precise program of action for the realization of the transition to a 2-3 shift work routine and deeply thought-out plans of technical reequipment guaranteeing a high economic effect.

The new work regime of the enterprises will introduce important changes in the rhythm of life of a significant part of the population of the cities. This imposes great responsibility for the organization of its service on the party, local Soviet organs, and trade unions.

The time requires a radical restructuring of personnel in the matter of the achievements of science and technology. The party committees and primary party organizations must play a decisive role in it. The concrete directives contained in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU concerning the transition to the new work regime must be placed by the gorkoms and raykoms of the party, the ministries, local Soviets, and trade unions at the basis of their practical activity in regard to the acceleration of the solution of the tasks of production modernization.

And about still another aspect of party work in regard to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. We are talking about the dissemination of positive experience of restructuring in this direction. Even though it is small, there is such experience. For example, in the Kishinev Tractor Plant, work is being actively done with respect to the sharp reduction of the periods for the creation and testing of new designs of units and parts of tractors through the use of automated work stations of engineers (ARM). Here the modernization of the existing standard automated work station was realized through the enterprise's own forces and the number of its simultaneous users was increased from one to sixteen. This experience was approved by the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building. And even though there are also serious shortcomings in this enterprise and not everything has been adjusted and joined, nevertheless they went over from word to deed here, and it is precisely this that is important.

The quality of production is the most important economic problem of the day. Unfortunately, a radical restructuring in this matter has not taken place. Passivity and sluggishness in the solution of the technical problems have had a direct effect at the level of the quality of many products. The proportion of the highest category of quality in the total volume of commodity production constituted only 8.3 percent during the past year, which is 5.4 percentage points lower than the level of 1985.

What attracts attention is the fact that in enterprises working in the conditions of state acceptance, there was a significant reduction in the indicator of the delivery of production from first presentation. Basically it is at the level of 60-70 percent. During 2 months, the output of poor-quality products for 10 million rubles was prevented. In this one must see, above all, the fact that the true state of affairs with respect to the quality of the goods produced in the republic has been established. But it is impossible not to see also the numerous instances of unfinished work that have been exposed, and even the direct mistakes in technical policy in the enterprises and in the ministries, the narrowness of the thinking of the cadres, and the inability to effectively decide the questions that arise.

At the January Plenum, M. S. Gorbachev, speaking about work in the sphere of quality, said: "We have taken on a large task and we are obligated to see it through to the end." This directive must lie at the basis of all executive personnel, engineering-technical personnel, and workers in regard to getting things put in the necessary order in every section of production, in the technical and design subdivisions, and in every work place.

The Central Committee, the party committees, and the primary party organizations must no longer condone cases where the equipment being created already at the design stage turns out to be obsolete and does not bear comparison with the best domestic and foreign models. Only one-third of the products developed and subject to certification in 1986 were qualified in terms of the highest category of quality. This speaks to the fact that in the sphere of the radical increase of production quality we are only at the very beginning of the road. We will have to do a great deal to go out for the unconditional fulfillment of the demands of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the fact that all new production in 1993 should correspond to the world level.



I would like to recall that in accordance with the republic integrated program "Quality-90", the output of the products of the highest category of quality must increase already at the end of the current five-year plan by a factor of 2.9, and its proportion in the production volume subject to certification must increase to 82.5 percent. To achieve these limits, we must raise all organizational work to a new level, strengthen party control over the activity of the administration, and hold those strictly responsible who busy themselves with discussions about raising quality, but practically do not do anything for this.

The quality of production, as also the smooth work of the enterprise, depends in many respects on labor discipline. This is one of the starting propositions of the restructuring. But we are moving extremely slowly to the achievement of a high level of organization and discipline. During the past year, 164,000 man-days were lost in industry due to absences, work stoppages, and absence from work with permission of the administration. In light industry, the losses because of absences even increased by comparison with the preceding year, and in local industry--there was an increase in the time losses because of whole-day and intra-shift work stoppages.

Labor discipline and the rational utilization of labor resources, as an important reserve for acceleration, must always be at the center of attention of the party organizations. Its effective utilization, to no small degree, will depend on how wide a dissemination the creation of city and rayon automated systems of the accounting and utilization of manpower resources will receive in the republic.

The rates of the intensification of the economy and the increase of its scientific level, to a significant degree, depend on capital construction. Meanwhile the plan for the introduction of fixed capital was fulfilled during the past year only to the extent of 66 percent; not turned over were 27 projects of production designation, including 4--for the machine building complex.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee Bureau not long ago examined the question concerning the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the construction of machine building projects, gave it a party assessment and made the demand to make up the gap permitted with respect to these construction projects within the shortest possible time and to get on with the task of two years of the five-year plan. Great failure with respect to the results of the year 1986 was permitted by the Ministry of Construction. Restructuring has practically not taken place here. At many construction sites, the work operations are being conducted on old organizations' bases, and then simply for the reason "as it turns out." The trust managers A. A. Kravchuk, A. A. Mikhaylov, and A. F. Bekkerman, the chief of DSK-1 [Integrated House-Building Factory], L. I. Latinskii, are conducting the work without the proper responsibility for the fate of the state plan and are permitting miscalculations, discrepancies, and inefficiency. Serious shortcomings continue to take place in the planning of capital construction as well.

Guided by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, the Council of Ministers, the ministries, and departments must take urgent measures to eliminate the existing shortcomings in capital construction

and in getting things put in state order in this matter and to lead the industry out of the hold-up.

At the January meeting, it was noted that the restructuring is the priority development of the social sphere, the increasingly full satisfaction of the demands of the Soviet people for good working conditions, everyday life, rest, education and medical service, it is the ability to combine the realization of large-scale, cardinal problems of the life of society with the solution of the everyday problems that are worrying people. "Our policy, the restructuring," M. S. Gorbachev said in his concluding words at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "will be judged by people, and the farther ahead the more strictly, on the basis of the tangible results in the practical improvement of the working conditions and the life of millions. . . ."

It is well known that in Moldavia, for the duration of a long period of time, many questions connected with the development of the social sphere, for various reasons, were solved slowly, and the republic did not succeed, in terms of a number of indicators, to overcome its lag behind the other regions of the country. As previously, the hospitals, polyclinics, children's pre-school institutions, and student dormitories, are overloaded, and there a few clubs and houses of culture. The housing problem also remains acute.

In order to bring about a significant advance of the social development of the republic and to realize the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 16th Moldavian CP Congress with respect to this question, the Moldavian CP Central Committee Bureau through the decree of 27 May 1986, approved a large program of housing and social and cultural construction in a cross-section of cities and rayons of the republic for the 12th Five-Year Plan. It calls for an increase in the introduction of housing by 39 percent, public education projects --by 1.6 percent, pre-school institutions--by 1.7 percent, and polyclinics--by 45 percent.

For the realization of this program, party, Soviet, and economic organs, construction and supply organizations were obligated to give paramount attention to the commissioning of projects of the social infrastructure ahead of the plan schedule, to transfer all integrated house-building combines and installation organizations to a 3-shift and 6-day work week, to supply construction projects with building material, communications, and skilled manpower, to create the proper working and living conditions for builders, and to strengthen the organizational and political work in the labor collectives. The task has been set to do everything to not only fulfill, but to overfulfill the tasks that have been advanced.

From the results of the year 1986 it is evident that many organizations have treated the implementation of the decisions of the Central Committee Bureau without the proper responsibility. Only the Bendery and Tiraspol party organizations have secured the fulfillment of the tasks forwarded to these cities in regard to the introduction of housing and projects of social and cultural designation. On the whole, the plan for the introduction of housing was realized only to the extent of 98 percent, kindergartens--88 percent, hospitals, polyclinics and clubs--68 to 96 percent. Twenty rayons and cities, 5 ministries and departments did not cope with the indicators for the introduction of housing.

The Kishinev Gorkom and Gorispolkom, the capital's party raykoms and rayispolkoms have not gone beyond the approval of the adopted course aimed at the acceleration of the introduction of housing and projects of social and cultural designation and they have not secured the implementation of the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for the Further Development of the City Economy of the City of Kishinev During 1986-1990" and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures to Liquidate the Consequences of the Earthquake in the Moldavian SSR." During the past year, in the conditions of an acute shortage of housing, the workers of the city received 20,800 square meters less living space than stipulated by the plan. The introduction of public health projects was frustrated. What is more, during the current year the situation has not improved: From the plan for the introduction of housing in the first quarter of 60,000, only 31,100 square meters were introduced during January and February.

The impression is created that the raykoms and rayispolkoms and the managers of the construction subdivisions do not intend to improve their methods of work: As before, projects are not fully staffed with the necessary manpower, a full 3-shift work week has not been organized, and not everywhere have the conditions for normal work and leisure of the builders been created. The Kishinev city party organization must more deeply realize the acuteness of the social questions and, in the jubilee year, bring about a radical improvement in their solution, and carry out the plans and socialist obligations with respect to the construction of housing and projects designed to meet social, cultural and everyday needs.

In Beltsy, too, the annual plan for housing construction was frustrated. It was fulfilled only to the extent of 93 percent. But even in so doing, falsifications were indispensable. The Central Statistical Administration and the Bank for Financing Capital Investments in January excluded from the report on plan fulfillment of the past year two apartment houses with a total area of 12,700 square meters because of defects and low work quality. Not a single square meter was introduced in accordance with the plan for the first quarter, although almost 10,000 square meters should have been introduced.

Complete failure in the implementation of the plans for housing was allowed in 1986 by the Rybnitskiy and Ungenskiy rayispolkoms. The Central Committee Bureau the other day examined the state of affairs in these rayons and, following party procedure, severely punished the chairmen of the ispolkoms of the city Soviets V. G. Mitnitskiy and S. I. Bogachenko, having warned them that, if exhaustive measures in regard to the adjustment of the construction conveyor will not be taken and if the plan for the introduction of housing also for the past year will not be fulfilled during the current year, more severe punishment with organizational conclusions will be applied to them. It should be said that in the current year, too, changes are for the time being not noticeable in Rybnitsa. Of the 9,000 square meters of housing envisaged by the plan for the 1st quarter, 2,700 square meters, or 30 percent, were introduced during 2 months.

The expansion of the scales and the increase in the efficiency of large-panel housing-construction is a most important reserve for the acceleration of housing construction in the republic. Taking this into account, we have adopted a

number of decrees, whose realization made it possible to increase, during the past 2 years, the volumes of the production of products of large-panel house-construction from 475,000 to 620,000 square meters and to bring it to 1 million square meters by the end of the five-year plan. This is a practical path of the solution of the housing problem in the republic. However, the demands of the indicated documents, under various pretexts of the directors of the State Committee for Construction Affairs (S. S. Grafov), the Ministry of Construction (P. S. Mikhnevich), the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry (I. I. Demchenko), and the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply (B. N. Savochko), are not being carried out, and the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic, N. D. Polyakov, is not sufficiently demanding with respect to them, and his organizing role in the implementation of the housing program is being felt weakly for the time being.

As before, large-panel house-construction products are delivered to construction sites, not being fully ready, the finishing conveyers at the plants are inactive, 16-story houses and rotation sections to them are developed slowly. Other technological problems are taking place, for whose solution the necessary measures are not being taken.

In housing construction, the brigade form of labor organization, the contract, cost accounting, the work shift [vakhtovyy] and other advanced methods of work are poorly disseminated. The brigade of V. P. Dovgan from the SU [Construction Administration]-35 of the Beltsy Trust, after its enlargement, went over to a four-shift work regime with an uninterrupted week. From the first month of the current year, it went out to the installation of seven stories of an apartment house instead of the previously installed four stories. The example of the efficient labor organization is convincing. However, the ministry does little for the broad dissemination of the valuable experience of this brigade.

The rates of the realization of the social policy of the party depend to a certain extent on the state of affairs in agriculture and in the agroindustrial complex as a whole. Without depreciating the significance of what has been attained in the republic in the solution of the food problem, it must be said today with all frankness that we are moving extremely slowly toward the goal. During the past year a lag behind the tasks in regard to the output of gross production amounting to 97 million rubles has been permitted. A large quantity of grain, sugar beets, fruit and other produce has not been received toward the plan.

Key problems of the agricultural policy of the party are being solved at the local level without the requisite efficiency, consistency, persistence, as well as without sufficient responsibility and initiative. One of the basic ones among them is the grain problem. In accordance with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, the Central Committee Bureau and the government of the republic adopted a decision which set forth measures for increasing the stability of the grain harvest and the increase of grain fodder resources in the 12th Five-Year Plan. However, it is being poorly executed. The farm managers and specialists and the machine operators crudely violate the requirements of industrial technologies, do not heed the recommendations of science, and are developing grain production by extensive methods. Hence all the negative consequences.



Here are some examples. With identical social and climatic conditions and production and economic potential, the productivity of corn during the past year in the Kolkhoz imeni Michurin of Kagulskiy Rayon came to 43 quintals per hectare, but in the Trifeshy Sovkhoz-Plant (director: S. N. Radu)--only 17 quintals per hectare. In Orgeyev Rayon in the Malayeshtskiy Sovkhoz they obtained 47 quintals of winter wheat per hectare, but in the Kolkhoz imeni Gagarin (former chairman: F. F. Golban)--13.9 quintals. The question is natural: What are the party raykoms and rayispolkoms and the rayon agroindustrial associations doing in order for the harvest everywhere to be of full weight and to correspond to the natural and production possibilities? Evidently, what they are doing is patently inadequate, and therefore there are such results.

Inadmissibly slow in solving the problems of grain production are the scientists of the Academy of Sciences of the republic (S. I. Toma), the Slektsiya Scientific Production Association (I. P. Untila), and the Gibril Scientific Production Association (V. Ye. Minku), especially in the sphere of the creation of drought-resisting and high-yielding varieties of winter wheat, corn hybrids of short terms of maturity and winter-proof barley, and the development of intensive technologies and their introduction in production.

The State Agroindustrial Committee, the party raykoms and rayispolkoms, the MoSSR Academy of Sciences, and the industrial scientific production associations must significantly raise the level of the development of grain production in the republic and guarantee the mastery of the scientifically-based systems of its management everywhere, as well as the radical improvement of the utilization of scientific-technical and economic potential created in the grain economy.

On the threshold of the belated spring, special attention of the cadres locally must be given to the timeliness and the quality aspect of the repair of equipment, to the pre-sowing and spring-sowing work. The training and certification of specialists and personnel of mass professions must also be completed.

As before, fodder production is a bottleneck in the agroindustrial complex. In spite of the, it would seem, exhaustive measures taken during the past few years by the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the republic, it proved to be impossible to attain stability in this sector. During this year, only 19 quintals of fodder units, or 81 percent of the plan, were procured per standard head of cattle. In Lazovskiy Rayon (chairman of the rayispolkom: N. K. Oleynik, chairman of the rayon agroindustrial association: G. I. Vakar) less than 13 quintals of fodder units per standard head of cattle were procured. An analogous situation exists in a number of other rayons.

We have more than once talked about the constituent elements of the problem of the development of animal husbandry. Appropriate decrees have also been adopted. Today I would like to call attention only to one aspect of the question--the transfer of animal husbandry to an industrial basis. We have great possibilities in this regard, but they are being realized slowly. In 1986, the plan capacities of the complexes for the production of pork and beef were developed only to the extent of 85 percent, the raising of heifers--to the extent of 97 percent. The capacities of the hog-raising complexes of Teleneshtskiy and Kamenskiy rayons were utilized only to the extent of 44-60 percent. In the

complexes for the production of beef in Strashenskiy and Rezinskiy rayons, they were developed to the extent of less than half. From 417 to 1,058 cattle places stood empty in the inter-farm enterprises for the raising of heifers.

If one adds to this that the gross weight increments on the level of the plan parameters during the past year were obtained by only 30 hog-raising complexes, 10 enterprises for the production of beef, and 18--for the raising of heifers, then the question suggests itself concerning glaring mismanagement on the part of the cadres in the utilization of the head of livestock and the highly-equipped producer goods.

In many rayons the wintering of cattle is poorly organized, and the productivity of the animals has been significantly reduced. In the hog-raising complexes of Rezinskiy and Lazovskiy rayons, the average daily weight increases amounted to only 280-350 grams during January-February. The milk yields have fallen sharply. During the past 2 months, the productivity of cows on the farms of Kantemirskiy, Rybnitskiy and Rarakliyskiy rayons has been reduced by 30-76 kilograms. The kolkhozes and sovkhoses of a number of other rayons are also losing ground in dairy farming.

The reason for the slump lies in irresponsibility, as well as in the professional failure of the personnel. Is this not what is indicated by the following fact? As per 1 January of the current year, 22 percent more fodder units than on the average for the republic were on hand per standard head of cattle in Chernenkovskiy Rayon. Nevertheless, during the past 2 months the production of milk here has decreased by 12 percent, and the productivity of the dairy herd decreased by 48 kilograms. Such a thing could occur only in conditions of lack of control on the part of the party raykom, the primary party organizations, and the rayon agroindustrial association.

It is necessary for the party raykoms and rayispolkoms and the State Agroindustrial Committee to make a thorough investigation of the situation that has been created in animal husbandry, to establish the proper order in the work of the farms and complexes, to successfully complete the wintering of the cattle, and to do everything for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plans and social obligations of the jubilee year. The scientists of the Zarya, Progress, and Moldavian Poultry Industry scientific production associations must more energetically conduct work on the creation of a highly-productive herd of cattle and poultry, secure production with a young generation skilled in repair and its increase with efficient process engineers, and by the end of the five-year plan raise the animal husbandry of the republic to the level of the best domestic and foreign indicators.

Improvement is also needed in the work on the introduction of economic methods of management. In the organization of the collective contract, intra-farm accounting, check forms of control, and other modern methods of work, there is a great deal of formalism. The majority of collectives are on the contract, but in 1986 4 kolkhozes, 53 sovkhoses and sovkhos-plants, and 8 inter-farm enterprises completed their production and financing activity with a loss.

It is necessary for the republic State Agroindustrial Committee (V. A. Protsenko) to make a critical assessment of the course of the mastery of economic methods of management in every collective and to determine concrete measures



in regard to the transfer of the basic production subdivisions to cost accounting, the collective contract, and self-financing. Every conceivable use must be made of the progressive experience of the creation of collectives of intensive labor and working by spurts must not be allowed in this question. At the basis of all of this work must be placed the tasks and measures resulting from the well-known decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers.

It is necessary for the Department of Agriculture and Food Industry (A. I. Tsurkan) to improve organization and verification of execution of party decisions aimed at the improvement of the work of the agroindustrial complex and to extend greater assistance to the party committees and primary party organizations in this matter.

The sectors of the social sphere are also in need of radical restructuring and renewal. As before, great problems confront the public health services of the republic. The situation with the protection of the health of the children of young age remains alarming. Great defects in the distribution of specialists are being allowed. The supply of medical personnel in the rural regions is twice as low as in the cities.

These questions were the subject of a discussion of the Secretariat of the Central Committee. The unsatisfactory work in regard to the organization of medical assistance to children during their first year of life and the implementation of the decisions of the party and the government about the protection of maternity and childhood were pointed out to Minister K. A. Draganyuk in strict terms. We expect from him a significant improvement of the organization of health protection in the republic.

A radical improvement in trade and consumer services has not taken place. The work of these sectors does not satisfy the increased demands of the workers. The minister of trade of the republic (V. R. Bobutsak) and the Moldavian Union of Consumer Cooperatives (K. A. Melnik) have failed to make sufficient use of the available possibilities for the fulfillment of the plans for commodity turnover and have not obtained from industry the compensation of resources which are falling out from the reduction of the volumes of the production of alcoholic beverages by other production needed by the population. They feebly oriented the work of the enterprises within their jurisdiction to the output of a broad assortment of food products of their own production and the expansion of agricultural products at contract prices.

The protection of socialist property is unsatisfactorily provided for in trade and consumer service, and the deception of purchasers and customers is allowed as before. It is necessary to raise the criterion for the assessment of the moral character of the workers of this sphere in order for them to be distinguished by such qualities as honesty and incorruptibility, to eradicate more decisively deception, theft, bribe-taking, speculation, and fraud.

The Department of Trade and Domestic Services of the Central Committee (P. G. Dubalar) has to intensify attention to the activity of the gorkoms and raykoms of the party, the primary party organizations of the apparatus, and the collegial organs of the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Consumer Services, and

the Moldavian Union of Consumer Cooperatives in regard to the selection, placing, and training of cadres and the increase of their responsibility for the entrusted work.

The CPSU Central Committee has repeatedly emphasized that the rayon and city party committees are in the forward positions of the developed restructuring. This link is closest of all to the labor collectives, their affairs and concerns. The living practice already gives us examples of creative approaches of party raykoms and gorkoms to the realization of the policy of the party aimed at acceleration and renewal. Grains of the new can be found in the Tiraspol'skiy and Benderskiy gorkoms, and the Brichanskiy Party Raykom. And even though not everything has been finely tuned and the final results are not everywhere as they should be, the first steps of the restructuring and the active political influence of these party organs on economic affairs are being felt.

However, such an assessment cannot be given to every party committee. By far not everywhere have they realized the demands which the restructuring makes of the rayon link. However strange it is, the administrative-command method of management is dominating as before in the activity of many gorkoms and raykoms. As before, they take up all production affairs and replace the economic planners, although they did reduce the flow of papers sent to the lower organizations, but on the other hand they went over to a great abundance of telephone calls. At times in such raykoms and gorkoms new forms of work are perceived as campaigns, and the apparatuses, not having a precise plan, quickly "played out", having limited themselves to half-measures.

They have not given up the methods of command, dispatcher work and substitution of personnel in the Komratskiy Party Raykom. At the plenums and sessions of the bureau of this raykom last year there was quite a bit of talk about the necessity of accelerating the development of the grain economy. In deed the same raykom did not help the primary party organizations to mobilize the communists and all the toilers of the village to search for and bring into operation the reserves and possibilities for receiving high grain harvests. Instead of control of the fulfillment of its decisions and greater demands on farm managers for the absence of an integrated approach to the solution of the grain problem, it has interfered in their affairs on every occasion.

And here is the result: During the past year, the average productivity of grain-crops in the rayon constituted only 24.5 quintals per hectare, which is 6.3 quintals less than in the neighboring Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayon. The Komratskiy Rayon not only did not fulfill the plan of the first year of the five-year plan with respect to grain production, but even lowered its level to 30 percent by comparison with 1985.

Or here is the following case. In the Dnestrovskiy Rayon of Kishinev (first secretary A. I. Radevich), the plan of two months for the most important indicators was ruined by five machine building enterprises. At the head enterprise of the Moldavgidromash [Compressor Pumps and Fittings] Association, labor productivity fell by 20 percent. Analysis has shown that the reasons are concealed in the bad preparation of these enterprises for work in the new conditions. And the party raykom was unable to extend effective assistance to them,

since both the apparatus and the elected aktiv of the raykom have not restructured themselves, have not gone deeply into the activity of the collectives, and have not mobilized the communists to bridge the gap.

It is necessary for us to bring about decisive changes in the work of the party gorkoms and raykoms in the spirit of the demands of the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. We have to expose and eliminate the existing shortcomings in their work more quickly, to notice in good time and correctly assess the grains of the positive in their activity in regard to the guidance of economic and social development, and to disseminate this experience effectively. In particular, the creation, in the primary party organizations, of temporary groups for the control of the implementation of the decisions of party meetings deserves support.

No less important is the timely assistance to gorkoms and raykoms of the party on the part of the republic Communist Party Central Committee and its departments (I. T. Gutsu, M. I. Shatokhina, and A. I. Tsurkanu) in the development and correct utilization of new approaches to the problems of the economy and in the mastery of its political guidance.

A most important task in the present stage, in our view, consists in seeing to it that the effectiveness of the management of the national economic complex is increased within the shortest time periods is increased. The planning, finance, and other economic organs of the republic are called upon to make a significant contribution in its realization. They must head up the work on the transition to economic methods of management on all levels of the national economy. At the same time, because of serious shortcomings in the style and methods of the work of the apparatus of many economic organizations and their institutions at the local level, failures and elements of braking are being manifested in the mechanism of economic management.

The central planning organization of the republic--Gosplan--has not yet become a genuine staff for the formation of effective economic strategy, permits inefficiency in the development of the draft plans, and does not take effective measures for the transition to normative methods of planning. In the practice of planning work, poor use is still being made of goal-program approaches, economic-mathematical methods, and electronic computer equipment.

Shortcomings in long-term planning were one of the reasons that such sectors as motor transport for general use and consumer services lost the dynamism of development. Serious concern is called forth by the defects in the planning of capital construction. The arrhythmia of the introduction of fixed capital, laid already during the stage of the formation of the plan, still has not been overcome, which in practice is frequently expressed in crash work and leads to the disruption of the program.

V. G. Kutyarkin, I. G. Dobynde, S. I. Moroz, and other executives of the planning commission must resolutely get down to the improvement of planning, carefully look into the composition of the personnel of the apparatus, their conformity to the demands being presented, carry out certification, and increase responsibility for the entrusted work.

The accumulated conservatism and stagnation in the work of the finance and banking organs, the aspiration of some workers in these institutions to brush aside everything that does not fit in the customary stereotypes, and the gravitation toward various bureaucratic regulations and obsolete instructions have become a serious obstacle in the development of the economy of the republic. The managers of enterprises, organizations, and farms frequently signal that the workers of the finance and banking institutions extend little help to them in securing efficient work of the collectives and have a poor command of the economic situation at the local level and permit bureaucratism in the solution of the questions posed. In the final analysis, it is from this that the common cause suffers. In the republic there is no reduction in the number of unprofitable enterprises and organizations, nonproductive expenditures and losses are being permitted as before, and the violations of financial discipline have become more frequent.

The minister of finance, A. L. Budyan, the managers of the republic offices of Gosbank, V. I. Rogovskiy, and the Bank for Financing Capital Investments, P. F. Vizer, as well as the managers of other economic organs, must radically reorganize their work, help and not hinder enterprises and organizations in attaining high results in production and economic activity. It is necessary to resolutely get rid of the red tape and bureaucratic style of work, to spend more time in the provinces, and to find effective decisions of economic problems.

The primary party organizations of the economic organs must increase their exactingness vis-a-vis the cadres for the entrusted sector of work and the mastery of modern methods of management and must resolutely eradicate bureaucratism and paper creation. To this end it is necessary to make fuller use of the possibility of strengthening party control over the work of the apparatus and the implementation of decisions that have been taken. The Economic Department (V. I. Yakovlev) must extend practical assistance to the primary party organizations in the realization of the tasks that have been set.

Great responsibility for the realization of the strategic course of the party for the acceleration of socio-economic development rests with the ministries and departments. Being the staffs of the sections, they are called upon to organize the restructuring in the provinces and themselves set an example of the change in the style of management applicable to the new conditions of economic operation, to the broad transition of enterprises to self-financing and self-repayment.

Such an approach to the business of restructuring is characteristic, for example, of the Ministry of the Furniture and Wood Processing Industry of the republic. In the past, too, it has frequently acted as the initiator of the introduction of the new, and for this reason it now enters into the process of restructuring more easily than the others, having for this the necessary production-technological and social basis and a sufficiently high level of cadre skills.

It is also impossible not to notice the bold and enterprising approach to the choice of outlook put into effect by the Ministry of Local Industry of the republic. Here at the present time the foundation for a fundamentally new mechanism of management of the industry is being laid, which orients the enterprise



toward complete economic independence and, what is especially important, discloses their possibilities for the accelerated development on the basis of the achievements of scientific-technical progress.

Unfortunately, not in all ministries of the republic is the fulfillment of present-day demands with respect to the guidance of the industries secured. It is felt that they do not keep up with the changes in the mechanism of management, have not fully sized up their role in the conditions of the reform, are slow in reorganizing themselves in the spirit of the demands of the time, and as a result are not making sufficiently effective use of the existing production and labor potential.

Especially unsatisfactory for the time being is the process of the mastery of modern methods of management in the ministries of light industry, construction, and consumer services, the Moldavian Union of Consumer Cooperatives, and the Moldavian Main Power Supply Administration. The restructuring here is slowed down because of the absence of a well thought-out and concrete program for the development of the industries, the methods and ways of its realization, bold work in regard to the formation, close to the managers of enterprises and other subdivisions, of central apparatuses of new thinking, and the effective utilization of advanced methods of work. More than once this was pointed out to the former managers of these departments. The Central Committee has strengthened the management of these sectors with new comrades who are capable of conducting the work more energetically.

In the future, too, the Central Committee will increase the responsibility of the sector staffs and their managers for the state of affairs in the enterprises under their jurisdiction and for the steadfast realization of the policy of the party aimed at the acceleration of the development of the economy and the social sphere.

The transition to economic methods of management of the national economy puts forward new, higher requirements in regard to the work of the Council of Ministers of the republic. Recently concreteness and efficiency have become greater in its activity. At the same time, the state of affairs in the national economy, housing and social and cultural construction, also indicates the presence of shortcomings in the work of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, the members of the government, especially in regard to the acceleration of the solution of the accumulated problems in the fuel and energy complex, machine building, and the production of products for the people, in the solution of the Food Program, and in water supply construction and the installation of gas service for cities and villages of the republic.

Comrades! "The restructuring," it was emphasized in the report at the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "is support of the living creativity of the masses, it is the all-round development of democracy, socialist self-management, the encouragement of initiative, spontaneous activity, the strengthening of discipline and order, the expansion of openness, criticism and self-criticism in all spheres of the life of society."

The basis for the solution of the task of the further democratization of society is the consistent consolidation and expansion of democracy in production. This

process is developing in the republic, but up to now slowly. In spite of the fact that in many enterprises there has been an appreciable increase in the role of the party and public organizations, workers' meetings, collective contracts, brigade and shop councils, not only the inveterate inclination of part of the managers to run things by decrees and orders has an effect, but also the persistent lack of desire of a rather large part of the rank and file workers to act energetically and in a socially active manner.

Along with the Law on Labor Collectives, the USSR Law on State Enterprises (Associations) is called upon to promote the elimination of this contradiction. The study and discussion of the draft Law by the workers of the republic has already called forth quite a few positive responses. The party committees and organizations, the economic and trade union executives of all ranks must take into consideration all observations and proposals of the communists and toilers without party affiliation, generalize them and send them to the republic commissio .

However, no law, not even the best one, will change the situation if real conditions will not be created for strengthening the influence of the workers on economic affairs, the solution of social problems, the selection of personnel, and control over their work. In the immediate future, we will have to create councils of labor collectives, provide them and the general meetings of the collectives with appropriate powers, and help them in the adjustment of practical work.

It is necessary to correct the deformed mechanism of kolkhoz democracy more resolutely. The meetings of the kolkhoz farmers in our republic have been transformed, in essence, into a purely formal act, they have been gradually replaced by the irregular meetings of the representatives. Passiveness is manifested in the discussion of the problems of kolkhoz life, and the rank and file toilers rarely speak up. As a result--individual, frequently not very well thought-out decisions of the managers of farms, and here and there also open arbitrariness.

Administrative methods of management have received dissemination also in the daily practice of the rayon agroindustrial associations. Unnecessary interference in the technological activity of farms and the use of their property is continuing. Serious mistakes have been generated by the fact that neither the State Agroindustrial Committee, nor the rayon agroindustrial associations, nor the party committees in the provinces, as well as the Moldavian CP Central Committee, have thoroughly examined these questions, and they are not taking the necessary measures to put things in order. It is necessary to change the situation, we need to include the republic Council of Kolkhozes, which operates on public principles, more quickly in the work on the development of kolkhoz democracy.

As the CPSU Central Committee Plenum has indicated, a great deal will still have to be done in regard to the improvement of election practice. The planned changes in the organization of the elections to local Soviets of People's Deputies will be partially realized already this year.

In the course of the impending election campaign, the party organizations must direct their attention and effort not at substitution, but at the support of



the initiative of labor collectives and public organizations in the promotion and discussion of candidacies for people's deputies. It is time to resolutely get away from the questionnaire approach, the notorious percentage-mania, or deputy work on the basis of duty. The task consists of the following: The Soviets must consist of people who enjoy the genuine respect of the voters and who want and are able to work actively.

In the deputy body of the republic there are today more than 38,000 elected representatives of the people, the majority of whom carry out their public duty conscientiously. The practice of the conduct of the sessions of the Soviets has become enriched, broader use is being made of deputy inquiries.

At the same time, it must be noted that a whole series of deputies, including of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet, manifest unjustified passiveness in the fulfillment of their deputy duties, rarely meet with voters, do not take all measures for the execution of their mandates, requests and suggestions. The deputies G. I. Vasalatiy, minister of the forestry industry, D. T. Kretsu, chairman of the Drumul Leninist Kolkhoz of Kotovski Rayon, B. F. Palariya, first secretary of the Dubossarskiy Party Raykom, and F. I. Tagadyuk, chairman of the Kutuzovski Rayon Agroindustrial Association deserve criticism apropos of this.

Many permanent commissions and deputy groups are working without initiative, not introducing concrete proposals for years, poorly organizing control over the implementation of the decisions of organs of Soviet power. It is time to look anew at the practice of the reports of deputies, ispolkoms, and their departments before the population and in labor collectives.

The apparatus of the ispolkoms is called upon to better guarantee the functioning of the system of democracy, and not to replace it. Up to now, the concrete organizational work frequently is limited to the adoption of a mass of decisions, a significant part of which remains unimplemented. For example, the ispolkom of the Kutuzovski Rayon Soviet (chairman: K. V. Baksanyan) did not verify at the local level a single one of the 14 questions examined in this convocation and taken for control, and practically has no data concerning what has been done at the local level in regard to their execution. As the result of the absence of control of the city rayon ispolkoms and their chairmen, the most flagrant violations of housing legislation in the cities of Beltsy, Hybnitsa, and Edinetskiy and other rayons became possible.

The Presidium of the MSSR Supreme Soviet, headed by the Central Committee Bureau member A. A. Mokanu, should more fully encourage the correct use, by the local Soviets, of their considerable rights, as well as the growth of their activity. Party guidance of the Soviets is also in need of constant improvement.

The trade union organs and organizations must manifest themselves more actively in the expansion of democratic principles and the development of self-management. As was noted at the 10th Congress of the trade unions of Moldavia, along with appreciable positive results, by far not all of them pass the test of restructuring. The trade union committees and the Moldavian Council of Trade Unions, which is headed by the Central Committee Bureau member G. I. Yeremey, up to now lacks high resultiveness in work. The central link of the trade unions, the primary party organizations, have not begun to operate at full strength.

Taking into account the fundamental propositions of M. S. Gorbachev at the 18th USSR Trade Unions Congress, we will have to increase our efforts in this direction and pursue a demanding line with respect to the selection and training of trade union personnel. The new role of the trade unions in the conditions of the restructuring consists in seeing to the opposition to technocratic and feeble efforts in the economy, the attainment of a social orientation of the economic decisions being made, and the priority attention to the human factor. The trade unions of the republic have the strength and possibilities for the solution of those tasks. The party committees must help them in this.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum, with interest, supported the expansion of the social base of the restructuring and attached special political significance to the position of the young generation and the quality of the actions of the Komsomol. The reports and elections that have been concluded in the Komsomol organizations and the 20th Moldavian Komsomol Congress have shown that positive changes in the work of the Komsomol of the republic have taken place. At the same time, it would be hasty to draw the conclusion that a considerable improvement has been attained. The changes thus far have to a great extent concerned the external aspect. Many Komsomol workers are, to a considerable extent, isolated from the young people and do not only have a weak influence on the processes taking place in their midst, but frequently do not know their essence. The party committees and the managers have also not faced the youth problems, although their acuteness is not diminishing.

The times require from everyone still greater energy. And, of course, the young people and the Komsomol organizations must be still more active and aggressive. The older comrades must free themselves more quickly, in their work with the rising generation, from petty tutelage, edifying didactics, and reliance on orders and decrees. At the basis of their mutual relations there must be, above all, trust, exactingness in combination with concern about the expansion of the initiative of young people, the independence of the Komsomol, and the rights in the various spheres of economic and social life.

The most important aspect of the process of democratization is the energetic work of the councils of veterans and women, and the organs of self-management at places of residence that have been created everywhere. We must extend to them every conceivable assistance and support on the part of the party committees, Soviet and economic cadres, and make maximum use of these formations in the solution of the socio-economic and educational tasks.

A real restructuring is based, above all, on the high conscientiousness and organization of the masses and requires the activization of social consciousness, the search for new approaches in ideological and political education work. The task before us is to mold modern thinking in the communists and all of our cadres. In present-day terms, the thinking person is not someone who has mastered the concepts and categories corresponding to the time. The essence is not in these external attributes. The essence lies in the deep realization of the necessity of the restructuring and in the mastery of fruitful ideas, which life itself has advanced.

In the republic, as well as in the country as a whole, a new moral atmosphere is taking shape. The process of purification is proceeding under the wholesome influence of the instructions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the CPSU Central

Committee Plenums, and the decrees of the Central Committee that have been adopted in regard to questions of the activity of the Moldavian party organization. Certain results have been achieved in the matter of the struggle against various anti-social phenomena and violations of the principle of social justice. This, not very simple, work, as well as the persistent expansion of openness, criticism and self-criticism, find the complete support of the communists and the population of the republic. At the same time, social consciousness, psychology, and thinking up to now are lagging significantly behind the present-day requirements of the party, and here and there even enter into contradiction with its ideological directives.

Only through the political blindness of cadres can one explain the fact that the cases of immoral deception of the state, window-dressing, and padding continue to take place in the enterprises and organizations of the republic. In January of the current year, distortions in the reporting in almost every fourth of the objects of the national economy audited were exposed by the statistical organs, and in every fifteenth--cases of padding.

They have been exposed in the system of the State Agroindustrial Committee, the Ministry of Motor Transport, the Ministry of Consumer Services, and other ministries and departments, they have been brought to light in the enterprises and organizations of the cities of Kishinev, Beltsy, and Tiraspol, as well as in Ryshkanskiy, Rybnitskiy, Grigoriopolskiy, Dondyushanskiy, Kotovski, Kriulyanskiy, Novoanenskiy, Slobodzeyskiy, Ungenskiy and Chimishliyskiy rayons. In a number of places, the demands for the creation of a united front in the struggle against padding were transformed merely into slogans and declarations, but the realization of the decisions of both the central organs and their own ones stopped on the level of the criticism of individual cases, which was not followed by persistent and systematic work in regard to the eradication of this evil. It is especially troubling that the depth of the problem is not sensed in the lower links: In the brigades, farms, sections, and shops.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee once again forewarns the party and economic managers of all levels concerning their personal responsibility for the consolidation of the kind of moral atmosphere in every labor collective that would exclude any attempts of deception of the party and the state.

The still persisting aspiration of many people to excessive material enrichment, a comparatively high level of crime and violations of the law continue to remain characteristic signs of serious omissions in the ideological and educational sphere. In many cities and rayons, the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism, unearned incomes, and for the protection of socialist property are conducted declaratively and unsystematically. On the territory of the republic, the legislation on religious cults is poorly observed, and there is no reduction in the level of the dissemination of religious rites and sectarianism.

In these conditions, it is just to make high demands, above all, of those who in the performance of their official duties are directly responsible for public order and for the strengthening of party influence on the course of the restructuring in the militia, the court, and the procuracy.

Recently some positive changes have taken place here. The Central Committee and



the party committees have begun to scrutinize more objectively the affairs of the administrative organs, and a number of necessary personnel re-arrangements have been made. However, it would be a mistake not to observe negative trends as well. For a part of the workers, violations of legality and discipline, a careless attitude toward the fulfillment of their duties, and divergence of word and deed, remain habitual. In spite of the measures that have been taken, and during the past year 250 communists were sent into the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs alone, a shortage of cadres remains here.

It is necessary for the Department of Administrative Organs of the Central Committee, the collegia of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Justice, the Procuracy of the republic, the Supreme Soviet, their executives L. A. Bolgarin, G. I. Lavranchuk, V. M. Volosyuk, N. K. Demidenko, and V. S. Pushkash, and the party organizations, to take more effective measures so that the cadres of the law enforcement organs not only know the work entrusted to them to perfection, but also conscientiously give to it their energy and knowledge. An important task of the party committees and Soviets is to tirelessly concern themselves with the improvement of the quality composition of the militia, the procuracy, and the courts, and to increase the exactingness for the quality of their work.

At the same time, it must be clear to everyone: The problem of the consolidation of high morality cannot be solved by means of administrative, limited measures. The tenacious deformations of the norms and values of the Soviet way of life and the cases of social corrosion, in many respects, are preserved because of the underestimation of their acuteness by many party committees and primary party organizations, inadmissible indifference, and unscrupulousness. There have been reports of shortcomings in the management of the sphere of ideology at the level of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the republic. Making use of the weak control of these organs, the most important ideological departments--the State Committee for Cinematography, the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, and the Society for Knowledge, whose former managers failed to make the proper demands on themselves and their subordinates, became bogged down in padding and deception, and forgot about the duty and honor of the communist--for a long time did not produce the appropriate return.

The fact that here and there one thing was said in words, but another was actually done became a fertile basis for people's mistrust of the ideological-educational work of a number of party organizations and for the reduction of the coefficient of its useful effect. And how could it be otherwise, when in some regions of the republic, during the past few years, so-called "prestige" projects, private residences, and banquet halls multiplied like mushrooms after a rain, and many managers clearly began to confuse the concepts of "private" and "public." Instead of the necessary adherence to principles and the party spirit, a spirit of narrow-mindedness and the ignoring of generally accepted moral principles began to penetrate the interpersonal relations of the personnel of various levels.

Honest communists and toilers who are without party affiliation do not wish to accept such phenomena. The study of public opinion and the analysis of the numerous letters and appeals of people to party committees testify to this.

Sociological research conducted not long ago in Faleshtskiy, Rybnitskiy, and Ungenskiy rayons showed that every fourth person surveyed was not satisfied with the level and quality of management in his factory. More than one-third believe that management by directives and an authoritarian style are predominant, and a poor job is being done of taking the opinion of people into consideration.

Some managers of party committees, including V. D. Boda, V. Ya. Lefter, and V. M. Yefimov, give priority to purely economic questions, relegate educational problems to second place, and do not set a personal example of interested participation in mass political work. Among the ideological cadres, especially of the lower link, there are quite a few workers who lack initiative and creativity.

The Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Moldavian CP Central Committee and its chief, S. D. Roshka, for a prolonged time have put up with such a state of affairs, although they have also carried out a considerable volume of work. They, and looking at them and the party committees, have not completely given up "volume" assessments of educational activity and primitivism in the forms of its management.

We need to accelerate the great work that has been begun with respect to the restructuring of the system of political education. The costs here are connected with the low qualification of the propaganda cadres and the shortcomings in their retraining. The weakened demand of communists for the prescribed obligation--the increase of the ideological and theoretical level--also has an effect. In the present and new academic year, political and economic studies must be subordinated to the intensified study of the materials of the 27th Congress and the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It is important to help everyone to gain a good understanding of what the restructuring is and, what is the main thing, why it is so necessary today.

Long ago it was time to speak a weighty word in the restructuring of educational work to our social scientists. Many of their studies are lacking the necessary dynamism and sharpness, suffer from a pseudo-scientific character, and do not have a practical yield. A residual approach to the needs of the social scientists and a rather shallow penetration into the essence of the work of the institutes and departments are taking place in the Academy of Sciences and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the republic with the connivance of the departments of the Central Committee. It is time for the party committees of the Academy and the VUZ's to manifest greater exactingness with respect to the quality of scientific work, the demands of communists and scientists, and for the departments of the Central Committee--to involve them on a broader scale in the practical activity of the Moldavian CP Central Committee.

The Institute of Party History under the Moldavian CP Central Committee should give the lead in increasing the level of research of social scientists. Up to now it has been working with serious shortcomings. Having a quite good scientific potential and a respectable material-technical base, the Institute is lagging behind the demands of life and frequently makes do with petty research of little significance. The new director of the Institute, V. D. Isaku, and

the party organization have to be exacting in analyzing the state of affairs and, with the participation of the departments of the Central Committee, examine and actualize the plans that have been mapped out and attain their rigorous implementation.

Of extremely great importance today is the role of the skillful formulation of international education. The party committees and ideological departments of the republic must not evade this problem and ignore it, but must resolutely and without compromise struggle against any manifestations of nationalism, national narrow-mindedness and conceit, chauvinism, localistic tendencies, and national isolation, and must carry out this work more systematically and comprehensively.

The party committees do not always react sharply to apolitical attitudes existing among a part of the intelligentsia. Some teachers in the VUZ's and schools permit themselves harmful statements concerning the suppression of the distinctiveness of Moldavian culture that supposedly is taking place, etc. Is it not for this reason that many pupils in the schools of Kalarashskiy, Kaushanskiy, as well as other rural rayons have a poor knowledge of the Russian language? In a number of places, defects in the formation of the managerial bodies are being permitted. Not always is the multinational composition of the population of the republic taken into account in the admission to VUZ's, which is especially characteristic of the agricultural and medical institutes. The instructing and preparation of members of delegations going abroad on the line of local party relations and tourist groups is being carried out formally. Recently there has been a reduction in the activeness of the Department of Information and Foreign Relations of the Central Committee (Ye. M. Karayon).

The significance of the questions raised increases also in connection with the fact that the workers of Soviet Moldavia during the current year are preparing to observe the 175th anniversary of the liberation of Bessarabia from the Ottoman yoke and its joining of Russia. These events were important historical landmarks in the fortunes of the Moldavian people. It forever linked its fate with the great Russian, Ukrainian and other peoples of our country and found the possibility for the rapid development of its economy and culture. The toilers of the territory experienced the beneficial influence of the advanced Russian socio-political thought and culture and joined the revolutionary liberation struggle of the peoples of Russia, which was completed by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In the fraternal family of Soviet republics, Moldavia, within a short historical period, has attained significant results in all spheres of socio-economic and spiritual life.

The party, Soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, the ministries and departments, and the scientific and ideological institutions are called upon to make use of the preparation of the 175th anniversary for the further strengthening of the friendship and cooperation of the Moldavian people with our multinational Homeland, for the further increase of the contribution of the republic to the development of a single national economic complex of the country, and for the strengthening of the patriotic and international education of the population.

Slow progress is being made in the restructuring of the work of the party organizations of the institutions of culture and the arts. As the congresses of



of the creative unions that have taken place showed, here the necessary spirit of comradeship has to a certain extent been lost. A certain stratification of the creative workers has taken shape. Creative discussions are held rarely and, as a rule, impassively and without much criticism. Open and secret disputes, a struggle for "posts", the squaring of accounts, and the bombardment with libellous anonymous letters displace the solution of urgent tasks. Party organizations, the executives of the unions of writers, artists, composers, and cinematographers permit important shortcomings in the work with creative young people.

All this, of course, affects the results. The dull and faceless works of the Moldova-Film Studio, the film production of the republic publishing houses lying idle for a long time on the counters of the stores, and the half-empty exhibition, theater and concert halls are graphic confirmation of this.

Today special vigilance and sensitiveness with respect to everything new and advanced, everything that corresponds to the spirit of the time is required, an ability to large-scale reflections of social processes. Both the creative unions, as well as the appropriate ministries and departments and their executives A. S. Konstantinov, Ye. V. Sobor, and V. F. Stanev, are called upon to solve these tasks much better. The department of the Central Committee and its chief I. M. Grosu, must exert a more active influence on the restructuring in the sphere of culture.

The success of the restructuring in the spiritual sphere is secured through openness and the broad development of criticism and self-criticism. However, the signals from the labor collectives indicate that critical observations do not yet everywhere find a properly party reaction. Openness and the boldness of someone's judgments scare some executives. The conviction exists that criticism from below and strict order are incompatible. It seems it is unnecessary to prove how harmful such a judgment is. We must proceed from the fact that the attitude toward criticism is an important indicator of the political education of the cadres, their ability to work in conditions of the constant expansion of democracy.

Recently quite a few fundamental, constructive statements on Moldavia have appeared in central publications. In many respects they help in the activation of the restructuring and in intensifying the struggle against negative phenomena, which one cannot always say about the work of our journalists.

In no way will the editorial boards of the newspapers SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, MOLDOVA SOCHIALISTE, VYATSA SATULUY, and the industrial newspapers and journals get on with the new, non-standard methods of editing newspapers. VECHERNIY KISHINEV noticeably yielded its positions. There are many claims against the rayon newspapers and radio broadcasting. Not long ago, the Moldavian CP Central Committee Bureau recognized the work of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting as not meeting the demands of the 27th Congress.

I. A. Panfilov, M. D. Yeremiya, S. I. Lozan, and V. N. Petrash, the editorial boards of newspapers, journals, radio and television, the Moldavian Telegraph Agency, the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee, the party committees, and the party organizations of the collectives of journalists must struggle more actively for the quality of publications and broadcasts, providing not simply a statement, but a skillful demonstration of the

sources of successes, a constructive approach to failures, and to consistently conduct propaganda of the best experience.

At the same time, a high standard of the perception of statements of the press, radio and television is required. This is precisely what a number of ministries and departments, and, what is more, some party committees are lacking. Not eliminated are the hushing up of problems that have been raised, the unperturbable indifference and even persecution of criticism. A genuinely party-minded approach to the printed word also has nothing in common with the widespread practice of "quick reaction", where after a critique all forces are mobilized so as to answer as soon as possible, not changing the essence and approaches to things.

A graphic example is the reaction and reply of the Oknitskiy Party Raykom (N. V. Stadinchuk) to the now already widely known publication in the newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN. They formally supported the newspaper, their own--they somehow punished, the public--they tried to assure. . . . And the problem remained as it was.

In the conditions of the restructuring, concreteness and energetic, well thought-out actions are needed. The party committees, beginning with the Central Committee, and the primary party organizations are called upon, in the immediate future, to gain a thorough understanding of cadres engaged in educational work and to continue the renewal of the ideological corpus. It is important not only to assess the situation in principle, but also to breathe life and a fresh stream into the diverse forms of the education of people, to bring them up to date, and to bring all reserves of the human soul into rapid action, as the party requires.

Today, the Leninist statements to the effect that the "crux of the situation", "the crux of all work" is the personnel acquire special meaning. Although during many years a rather powerful personnel potential has taken shape in the country and in our republic, and favorable conditions have been created for its replenishment and renewal, the degree of the utilization of the possibilities of the personnel, as well as the quality of its activity, have turned out to be unequal [to the task].

In the party committees of the republic, the same errors in the work with cadres have accumulated for years which were severely condemned by the 27th CPSU Congress and the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The main thing is that the BurQ and the Secretariat of the Central Committee frequently did not give a timely and principled assessment of the state of affairs and did not see the executives, who permitted shortcomings and errors, for them. These collegial organs in many respects acted on inertia, without the necessary effort, and a part of the members of the BurQ took a conciliating position, which in the final analysis affected the development and realization of the political line of the Central Committee and the practical results of the development of the republic.

Although the shortcomings in the activity of the Buro and the Secretariat, which are mentioned in the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee with respect to the style of work of the Moldavian CP Central Committee and with respect to the struggle against padding and deception, are being eliminated, they are not

being eliminated with the speed demanded by the time. The CPSU Central Committee justly makes serious demands of me, as the first secretary of the Central Committee. One must justly add in the work also V. I. Smirnov, V. F. Semenov, and M. I. Snegur. N. F. Bondarchuk should act more decisively in the sector entrusted to him.

It is impossible to overlook the work of the Moldavian CP Central Committee as an elective organ. Recently the members and candidate members of the Central Committee have begun to take an active part in the preparation and discussion of topical questions at the plenums and sessions of the Central Committee Bureau to investigate more thoroughly the state of affairs at the local level, and to introduce more frequently concrete and well-argued proposals. Graphic evidence of this is the past, 4th Plenum, whose decisions were actively supported in the republic.

At the same time, the role of the member of a central elective organ of the republic party organization must significantly increase also in the formulation of questions, both in their collective creative discussion and in the practical realization of the decisions adopted. Up to now a part of the elected comrades carries out its obligations inactively, for years they do not introduce concrete proposals and well thought-out ideas and keep silent at the plenums, and some completely discredit their high calling by inadmissible actions and conduct.

Taking into account well-known present materials--they were published in the press of the republic, the Bureau proposes to examine, at a Central Committee plenum, the question of the possibility of the continued membership, in its ranks, of P. D. Kostin, the former chairman of the Moldavian Union of Consumer Cooperatives, and G. I. Musti, the former first secretary of the Kriulyanskiy Party Raykom. We ask the members of the Central Committee to express themselves with respect to this proposal.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee is called upon henceforward to be more united and responsible, business-like and principled, and to distinguish itself by a critical and constructive approach to the problems. Such an atmosphere of its activity and exemplariness in the restructuring, without a doubt, will have a favorable effect on the style of work of the local party committees and organizations.

At the beginning of the report, mention was already made of the very important role which the CPSU Central Committee assigns in the restructuring to the city and rayon committees. This obligates us, in analyzing party work in light of the demands of the January Central Committee Plenum, to examine more intently the operations of the rayon link. Recently, through the efforts of the Bureau and the secretaries of the party committees and the Central Committee apparatus, new and collectively developed approaches are being introduced on an increasingly wider scale into the practice of the gorkoms and raykoms, and democratic principles are being expanded. Among the grains of positive experience which deserve dissemination, one must include the discussion, at plenums of the Nisporenskiy and Chernenskovskiy party raykoms, of questions of the style of work of the first party secretary, competitive elections of party raykom secretaries, and reports of secretaries at meetings of the communists of the apparatus of party committees. They are acting in the spirit of the time in the party



organizations of the city of Bendery, where openness about the reserve is being secured and the institution of back-up managers [dublery-rukovoditeli] is in operation.

Not long ago, the Central Committee Buro heard a report of the Floreshtskiy Party Raykom about the restructuring of its activity in the spirit of present-day demands. The decree of the Central Committee, the materials of the raykom plenum, and other information about the state of affairs in the rayon were widely published in the republic newspapers. They are well known. I only want to emphasize that the first steps on the road to restructuring, taken by the aktiv and the workers of this party committee, deserve support and dissemination.

The raykom is resolutely freeing itself from the substitution of Soviet and economic cadres, is acting energetically, with a perspective, increasingly finding the qualities of an organ of political leadership. On the whole, the plans in the economy and in social development are being successfully realized, the efforts of the party organizations are focused on the main problems of intensification, the easing of the working conditions for people, and democratization in production and in public life. In the rayon there is a healthy moral and psychological climate, openness and modern forms of educational work are in high esteem. An example is set by the elective aktiv, the level of the work of the plenums, the raykom bureau, and its secretary, N. A. Kutkovetskiy.

However, a part of the secretaries of the party committees and, first of all, the Beltsy Gorkom, the Chimishliyskiy, Leovski, Nisporenskiy, and Chadyr-Lungskiy raykoms, are reorienting themselves slowly towards political methods of work, operate with worn-out methods, and are inclined toward verbosity and running things by means of orders and decrees.

Among them is the Teleneshtskiy Raykom, which A. I. Aleksey has headed up for a long time. In the work of this raykom there is little creativity and initiative; approaches to work from economic positions prevail. The human factor remains a theoretical concept, and urgent questions are poorly solved. During the 11th Five-Year Plan, the executives in the sphere of agriculture were almost completely changed, and the executive personnel in industry--to the extent of 50 percent. But, as you know, things in Teleneshty are not changing for the better; moreover, with respect to many positions there has been a serious deterioration.

The executives of these party organizations not only have to reorganize themselves, but also to carefully investigate who and what hinders the restructuring of the party organization as a whole. The selection and placing of people must be organized, and on the basis of the democratization of all personnel work skillful use must be made of one's authority to increase the demand for the entrusted work. A reliable path to the strengthening of the work of the city, rayon and party link is the active use of the proposals, knowledge, and experience of the members of the elective organs, the adoption of decisions with the support on the opinion of the masses.

The main center of the restructuring is in the provinces, in the primary, shop party organizations, and party groups. In preparing for the plenum, the Central



Committee members were in many collectives and met with secretaries, the party aktiv, workers, employees, and young people. They became once again convinced: Although the restructuring has begun, it is not proceeding with ease, it is picking up speed slowly.

A part of the secretaries of the party organizations and members of party committees and party buros obviously do not endure the natural overloads of the restructuring, have grown heavy in thinking, inert, and avoid the new. A graphic confirmation of this are the meetings that have begun to discuss the results of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum. There are quite a few cases, where reports and speeches sound correct in form, but faceless in terms of content--reports and speeches in which there is everything, with the exception of the main thing, viz., the opinion of the communists themselves, the names of the culprits, the shortcomings, precise conclusions and business-like directives.

True, we have positive examples in our republic as well, on which all must orient themselves. Among these one can include the activity of the party organization of the Tiraspol Cotton Production Association, which not long ago was awarded the Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Central Committee of the Komsomol. The communists of this collective and the executive personnel concentrate their efforts on the creation of a modern mechanism of management and the skillful solution of social problems. During the period after the 27th Congress, labor productivity increased here by 7.8 percent, and there was a two-fold increase in the volume of production for export. The Tiraspol textile workers set themselves the task of solving the housing problem fully by 1995. The party committee and the party bureau of the shops and departments act in a modern way, on a broad democratic basis, authoritative in the collective. And not coincidentally, the general manager, S. A. Manukyan, was promoted to minister of light industry of the republic, and the secretary of the party committee, V. N. Ordin, was elected at a recent conference of the labor collective as the new manager of the enterprise.

In order for all cells of the Communist Party of the republic to operate at a high level of efficiency, it is necessary to increase their force and authority in every conceivable way, not permitting the accumulation of stagnant phenomena or the complacency of the cadres and the aktiv. The truth is not new, but, as before, many gorkoms, raykoms, and their workers limit themselves to appeals alone, in actual fact quite a sizable part of the primary organizations--moreover, precisely the weak ones--remains out of their field of vision for years.

It must be said that quite a number of managers in the republic, who for a long time have worked after the old fashion, have attempted to achieve authority through the proclamation of loud slogans, without changing their conceptions, political positions, and approaches to things in practice. Unscrupulousness, faith in their own infallibility, isolation from the masses and collectives, and ignoring the opinion of comrades, have led many to the verge of crime before the party and the state.

During the last 3 years, 168 workers, who were included in the nomenklatura of the Central Committee, were released from their posts for negative reasons.

Thirty-three persons have been recalled and removed from the membership of the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the republic. More than 2,000 communists were punished in accordance with party procedure for padding and deception, and 67 were expelled from the CPSU. Some of them have had criminal institutions instituted against them.

Perhaps the outrages created by them were not known to the gorkoms, raykoms and primary party organizations, or nothing was said about them in the decisions of the Buro and at the Central Committee plenums? They were known, and they were repeatedly discussed, but little was done about getting things put in order at the local level.

The underestimation of the political, ideological and moral training of cadres and the conclusion about its inadmissibility at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum--this is a lesson for us as well, and for all party committees of the republic. For years the principle of the political selection of cadres was not observed in a number of organizations, questionnaire indicators and the presence of diplomas prevailed. But what is in a person's heart, what his life position and ideals are--all of this was relegated to the background. Political studies, educational work among cadres, and control over their activity and moral character also were at a low level. For this reason, many, it seems, even pretty good economic managers slid on the path of fraud and deception, and the misuse of their official position, and they lost trust and authority among the workers.

The conclusion which proceeds from the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum is simple: Our personnel policy must be actively reorganized. The first steps taken in this direction must be reinforced with more profound, considered, and well thought-out actions. In every party committee, in the departments of the Central Committee, in the ministries and departments, and in all party organizations, a carefully perfected system of selection, placing, and training of cadres must take place, which is based on a democratic basis and precise assessment criteria.

The work with the reserve of cadres must be intensified in the most serious manner. After the 27th Congress the approaches to it have fundamentally changed. The practice of the selection and registration of candidacies for the reserve of a number of gorkoms and raykoms of the party, and the forms and methods of work with them, have been studied. In the membership of the reserve, there has been an appreciable increase in the number of promising young people, women, and representatives of the lower aktiv. The reserve for nomenklatura personnel is being systematically reviewed by the departments of the Central Committee and the party committees at the local level.

However, there are also quite a few cases of the sort where the work with the reserve reduces itself to the registration of lists, cards, and personnel files. Every year, a significant part of the workers is replaced not from the reserve. Not everywhere do the labor collectives and primary party organizations take part in the selection and in the work with the candidacies included in it. Up to now many forms of work with the reserve recommended by the Moldavian CP Central Committee have been badly applied. It is being drawn up unsystematically in Suvorovskiy, Nisporenskiy, and Chadyr-Lungskiy rayons, the Moldavian Union of Consumer Cooperatives, the Ministry of Construction, and a number of other departments.

In organizing the work with cadres, it is necessary to guarantee broad openness of the composition of the reserve, to be bolder in taking non-typical personnel decisions, to introduce the institution of back-ups and the competitive procedure for the replacement of posts everywhere, to expand the exchange of personnel between regions of the republic, the center and the periphery, and not to permit long vacancies.

The promotion of individuals without party affiliation to executive work must be emphasized in a special manner. Previously this question was simply hushed up, as if it did not even exist. The present-day view of the problem is the following: To limit ourselves in the promotion to executive work only to members of the party means to deform the relations of the party with the masses, and thereby also to limit personnel possibilities as well. Party committees, Soviet and economic organs must be bolder in promoting individuals without party affiliation to the management of production subdivisions, public organizations, and the apparatus of the Soviets.

This also concerns the promotion of women. The measures that have been taken recently are clearly not adequate. But we do have possibilities and convincing examples. We must only show confidence and support to women.

In all its magnitude, we are confronted with the task of the broad and non-formal participation of the workers in the selection and appointment of managers and the electiveness of executive personnel. This is not a tribute to fashion. The question, the January Central Committee Plenum emphasized, is about useful demands generated by life itself, which will make it possible to make a significant advance in the intensification of democratic centralism.

It is important not to compromise the work that has been begun. The departments of the Central Committee and the party gorkoms and raykoms are obligated to attentively analyze the first experience of the granting, by the collectives, of the mandate for one-man management [yedinonachaliye] to the director of the Tiraspol Cotton Association, the Bendery Electrical Equipment Plant, and the Kishinev Gas and Steam Turbine Power Plant No 78, and of the revived practice of the elections of chairmen in the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin (village of Parkany) of Slobodzeyskiy Rayon and the Kolkhoz imeni Suvorov of Kantemirskiy Rayon. One must also take into consideration the imperfections permitted here and not allow their circulation.

The influx of new personnel and the replacement of managers, who proved to be incapable of coping with the new tasks, have become a necessary integral part and most important factor in the restructuring. The process of the renewal of cadres has a beneficial effect on things and makes it possible to get rid of everything that prevents people from living and working in the new way. But the replacement of personnel must not become transformed into an end in itself. What is required is an attentive, thoughtful, and principled attitude toward the selection and replacement of cadres, and continuity must not be broken. In this matter, both stagnation and unfounded, hasty replacement of workers are inadmissible.

The "changing of seats" of the same workers, who have compromised themselves and have been left behind by life, from chair to chair, also deserves serious

criticism. Such manipulations do not have anything in common with a genuine concern for people and only do harm to the cause.

It is necessary for the Organizational Party Work Department of the Central Committee and its chief, V. K. Pshenichnikov, to actively accumulate the best experience of an integrated, long-term approach to the solution of the cadre problems and not only to propose new forms of work, but also to fill them with real content, and to see to it that the workers of the city, rayon, and the lower link, both in theory and practice, master the foundations of modern cadre policy.

The responsibility of the present period, M. S. Gorbachev emphasized, lies in the fact that the restructuring must be done not by specially trained people, but by those who still not long ago themselves experienced the influence of the time of connivance, weakness, fraud and deception. The task arises to create such an integral system of studies and increase of qualifications so as to re-train and to teach the managerial personnel efficient work in present-day conditions.

In this connection, the demands on the system of education, where the foundations of work with cadres are laid, increase sharply. It must be said that, in spite of certain positive advances, to this day, percent-mania, routine in the teaching of subjects, pedagogical conservatism and sluggishness still persist in the schools, colleges and other educational institutions, and the quality of the knowledge of the students remains low.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that in the practice of the executives of the Ministry of Education and the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, D. G. Zidu and G. I. Kushnir, elements of a formal approach to management and control over the activity of schools and vocational-technical schools still persist, and there is little daily organizational work with cadres.

With respect to many positions, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education is making no headway. The directors of educational institutions and the workers of the ministry discuss the restructuring a great deal, but in deed it is far from progressing at the tempo required by the present stage of life. V. A. Kerdivarenko oversensitively reacts to criticism directed at him, having gotten used to serious shortcomings. The party committees of the VUZ's superficially concern themselves with internal personnel problems and disregard large omissions in the selection and placing of scientific-pedagogical workers. A significant number of people who are related to one another are working in institutions of higher education. In the Polytechnical Institute alone there are 150 of them, in the Medical Institute--about 100, and almost as many in the State University. Defects of a national character are being permitted. In these conditions it is difficult to expect efficient output and the fulfillment, by the higher school of the republic, of its very important social functions.

The Department of Science and Education Institutions and its chief, B. M. Stratulatu, must investigate more thoroughly the work of the Ministry of Education, the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, place greater demands on their



executives for the realization of the requirements of the education reform and for the state of affairs in the educational institutions. The questions of the reform being carried out and of the increase of the quality of work of the educational institutions and their party organizations are the non-transient task of all party gorkoms and raykoms.

The process of the restructuring is inseparable from the work in regard to the formation, in all cadres, of deep ideological conviction, discipline, the highest political and moral responsibility, and the steadfast pursuit of the Leninist ethic of Bolshevism. By no means can we lower our adherence to principles in the struggle for the purity and authority of managers, what is more--we must strengthen it and put up a strong barrier to any manifestations of time-serving, careerism, and protectionism.

A correctly organized system of control will provide great assistance in this. Every executive and every official must constantly feel his responsibility and dependence on the labor collectives, the primary party organizations, and the party and the people as a whole. Not long ago, measures were approved in regard to the fulfillment of the demands of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee with respect to the Perm Party Obkom, which obligate party organizations to examine, prior to the regular 17th Moldavian CP Congress, the report of every communist concerning the fulfillment of the requirements of the Party Statute and his functional obligations. It is planned to conduct, during the current year, the certification of all party workers and Soviet cadres, and to expand the practice of interviews and open confirmation of references.

A significant increase of control is required along the line of the government, people's control, and other organs. The example of the recently created Dumbravenskiy Rayon leads to this conclusion. A decree of the Council of Ministers confirmed measures that are called upon to secure its formation and normal vital functions. However, because of the irresponsible attitude of the managers of the Ministry of Motor Transport, the Ministry of Communications, the Moldavian Union of Consumer Cooperatives, the State Agroindustrial Committee, and other departments, as well as the lack of control on the part of the Administration of Affairs of the Council of Ministers over the implementation of its decision, normal vital functions of the rayon are not secured today.

In organizing control, without which a real restructuring is impossible, we must at the same time put in good order any sort of verification and inspection. Already in April 1986, the Central Committee Buro, having examined this question, obligated the Council of Ministers to take immediate measures for getting things put in order. However, only half a year later a commission was formed to coordinate the control activity of the republic and local organs of administration (chairman: V. K. Kiktenko) and, after another 4 months, a plan for its work was approved. But for the time being one cannot talk about output.

In getting things put in order, in the skillful and effective organization of control over the work of cadres, the role of the Commission for Party Control under the Moldavian CP Central Committee (P. S. Kozhukhar), as well as the party commissions under the party gorkoms and raykoms should be significantly increased.

In concerning ourselves about the training of cadres in the spirit of present-day requirements, we must everywhere consolidate a lively and dynamic style of work, the unity of word and deed, adherence to principles and exactingness, and the high moral tone which was set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the January Central Committee Plenum. During the course of the restructuring, the party organizations must hold cadres of all levels--from executive to rank and file communist--more strictly responsible.

The main thing--as was emphasized in the report at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum--is that everyone of us must begin the restructuring with himself. All must work in the new way--energetically, creatively, and in accordance with their conscience.

Comrades! The tasks with respect to the implementation of the decisions of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum must be discussed during the first 6 months at plenums of the gorkoms and raykoms of the party, party meetings, in the ministries and departments. In so doing, special attention must be given to a thorough study of the decisions and measures that have been adopted. It is important not to omit careful consideration of the proposals and critical observations of people and their quick realization.

The organizational work must be accompanied by extensive propaganda and mass-agitation work on the basis of the materials of the Central Committee Plenum, with the broad involvement of the ideological aktiv, scientists and specialists, and the mass media in this.

It is necessary to build up the tempo of socialist competition of the labor collectives for a worthy welcome of the 70th anniversary of the Great October. The fulfillment of the program for the socio-economic development of the republic for 1987 and the socialist obligations that have been accepted will be the first concrete answer to the decisions of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum and a political examination of the attitude of our cadres to the restructuring.

During the March days a year ago, the 27th CPSU Congress completed its work. The general course which it approved for the acceleration and restructuring of the life of Soviet society, its politically adjusted directives and reference points, are the main and determining ones in the activity of the republic party organization.

On behalf of the participants of the Moldavian CP Central Committee Plenum, allow me to express the firm conviction that, under the guidance of the communists, the transformations in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres of the republic will steadily grow and become intensified, and our taut plans and obligations before the country will be fully carried out.

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FIRST SECRETARY MAKHKAMOV ADDRESSES TAJIK CP CC PLENUM

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[Report on speech by K. M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan: "On the Results of the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Tasks of the Republic Party Organization for Implementing the Restructuring and Improvement of Personnel Work"]

[Excerpts] Comrades!

More than 2 months have passed since the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. We have all had enough time to think deeply about its materials and determine our place and role in the implementation of the innovative, truly revolutionary decisions of the plenum.

The plenum showed once again that the party and all healthy forces in the Soviet society, including communists and workers of Tajikistan are resolutely and irrevocably in favor of restructuring, linking to it the destiny of the country and socialism as a whole, the international authority of our state, the prospects for peace on earth, and their own life plans.

In other words, the time for discussing the subject of whether or not restructuring is necessary has come to an end. It has already become a reality and is becoming irreversible and all-encompassing in nature.

We know that a good deal has been done for the development of the republic in past years. Everybody is aware of the figures concerning this. But, following the lessons of truth that were provided to us by the 27th Party Congress and the January (1987) Plenum of the Central Committee, we must recognize that stagnation and the slowing up of economic and social development that have taken place in the country have been even more serious for us and have entailed a chain of negative consequences.

A tendency toward a slowing down of economic development appeared and grew beginning in the 1970's. While the average annual rates of increase of the national income under the 9th Five-Year Plan amounted to 5.9 percent, and

under the 10th--4.8 percent, under the 11th Five-Year Plan it was only 2.9 percent. In terms of the per capita national income, Tajikistan's indicator was less than half of the average for the union.

The plans for social and economic development were not fulfilled. Conservative attitudes, indifference and satisfaction with the average level appeared. The plans for capital construction were unfulfilled year after year and the volume of incomplete construction increased. As of the beginning of this year it reached 1.107 billion rubles or 107 percent of the volume of capital investments for 1986 instead of the 70 percent indicated by the norm. In essence, immense sums were frozen.

The growth of the material and technical base of the national economy was not accompanied by improvement of its utilization. The output-capital ratio decreased instead of increased. In previous years we did not manage to provide for the development of such an important branch for restructuring as machine-building. Its proportion this year amounts to only 8.8 percent. During the period of megalomania that gripped the country, we did not manage to develop small labor-intensive enterprises that are extremely necessary to us.

The planning of agriculture, beginning with the upper levels, for many years was oriented mainly toward increasing cotton production. And less attention was paid to the other branches. The average annual rates of increase of the gross output of agricultural products on the whole decreased from 5.9 percent under the 9th Five-Year Plan to 1.6 percent under the 11th, and the growth rates of the population during this time increased from 2.9 to 3.1 percent.

Because of this there was a sharp reduction of agricultural production per one resident.

If one is to speak about the level of provision of the population with social goods, the picture is even darker: for each resident in the republic there is an average of 8.6 square meters of overall dwelling space, which is less than half the norm. We fall significantly behind in terms of other indicators of social development as well.

We have proudly said a lot about the fact that Tajikistan holds first place in terms of birth rate and our high rates of natural increase of the population, but we have not been properly concerned about where these people will work and how they will be provided with food, housing and many other things.

The slacking off of attention paid to the social aspect of life has led to a reduction of labor activity, a weakening of discipline, high labor turnover, and a deterioration of the qualitative indicators of production.

Stagnation has appeared in the spiritual sphere as well. Many leaders and workers on the ideological front, while constantly emphasizing that Tajikistan has one of the most ancient cultures, have done little to enrich and develop it under modern conditions.



In certain areas of science and culture we are relinquishing the positions we had won. This has led to a weakening of their role in the educational process and above all in the education of the younger generation, and also a restoration of certain harmful traditions.

These and other crisis phenomena should be regarded as directly connected to the defects and distortions of the personnel policy.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and the republic government have not been demanding enough of managers who from year to year have failed at their work. There have been violations of Leninist principles of selection and placement of personnel. The objects of personal devotion and subservience, local favoritism and nepotism have frequently been in evidence. Awards, bonuses and titles have been given out and measures have been conducted just for show. But at the same time the problems are increasing and becoming more critical.

We must completely take to heart the words spoken at the January Plenum to the effect that many leaders and party organizations have not been able to maintain principled positions and have not provided for strict observance of Leninist norms of party life.

All of us, the current leaders--I and Comrades G. P. Palayev, N. Kh. Khayeyev, G. B. Bobosadykova, A. N. Maksumov and I. F. Dedov--at various times have held certain management positions and were able to influence the course of economic and social development of the republic. But, apparently, we must admit that we did not have enough persistence or we were not principled enough to do this.

More than a year has passed since the 27th CPSU Congress and the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, and this is one-fifth of a five-year plan and today, apparently, we must answer the question: what have we managed to do during this period?

Judging from the large picture, our results as of today do not provide justification to say that restructuring is in full swing in our republic. In terms of a number of basic indicators of economic activity, as compared to other republics, we are on the lower part of the table, and in terms of some position we hold the last places. This pertains to 1986 as well.

Serious problems have accumulated in all branches of production and the social sphere. Take industry. The plan for product sales taking into account contractual commitments was not fulfilled by 43 enterprises or more than 22 percent of the overall number. The disparity exceeded 31 million rubles. This indicator was not met by more than 30 percent of the enterprises of the Ministry of Light Industry (Comrade Sh. K. Kalandarov) and the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry (Comrade V. I. Medvedev).

The assignment for labor productivity was not fulfilled by 59 associations and enterprises. They comprised 21.9 percent, including for industry under republic jurisdiction--more than 23 percent.

In the Ministry of Local Industry (Comrade A. B. Baymatov) the proportion of enterprises that did not provide for the fulfillment of assignments with respect to this indicator was 45.5 percent and the state agroindustrial complex (Comrade I. I. Kurbanov)--more than 21 percent.

The increase in the volume of production of products resulting from increased labor productivity amounted to only 18.5 percent. The growth rates of the average wages were greater than the growth rates of labor productivity by 1.6 points.

Consider the shift work in the operation of our industry. We have been practically standing still for the past 10 years. Thus the coefficient of shift work in the utilization of metal processing equipment at enterprises investigated last year amounted only to 1.37. At the same time, the experience of enterprises of Leningrad, Kharkov and Ulyanov Oblast and also certain enterprises of our republic in changing over to multishift work schedules is being utilized poorly.

And what is happening to product quality? During the past year the proportion of products of the highest quality category amounted to only 6 percent. This includes only 56 kinds of products. At the same time we have continued to produce 230 kinds of outdated products. One asks if we can be satisfied with such indicators. Of course not! All these issues are within the competence of the first deputy chairman of the republic council of ministers, Comrade G. V. Koshlakov, and he should draw the proper conclusions regarding this.

The most serious attention should be given to the newly created largest department of the republic--the Gosagroprom. More than 36,000 specialists are now concentrated here, that is, for every 16 workers employed in this sphere there is one specialist with a diploma. In the six branch institutes whose maintenance costs almost 4 million rubles a year there are five doctors and more than 200 candidates of sciences.

And what is the return? We do not see any recommendations or developments that have produced an appreciable result in practice and the republic's national economy is not receiving anything from branch science.

There are 1,557 economists working in the agricultural branch, an average of three specialists were farm. But the economics service is one of the neglected areas. There are more than 2,300 veterinarians and zootechnicians but animal husbandry is sustaining immense losses because of unceasing epidemics of brucellosis and tuberculosis. One gets the impression that Comrade T. N. Myrzayev is not bothered by this in the slightest.

Or another kind of example. A well-known decree of the government permitted up to 30 percent of the fruit and vegetable products that are produced to be sold to the farms themselves. The advantage to this is obvious. Last year more than 1.3 percent of the overall volume of products were sold this way, much less than the average for the country. There is your initiative and enterprisingness.

The sphere of trade evokes many complaints. A considerable number of ex-convicts continue to work in this sphere. The number of thefts, misappropriation of government funds and other selfish crimes is not decreasing.

An analysis of the reasons for the prolonged arrears of the aforementioned branches and others leads to the conclusion that the people responsible for these sections are forgetting about the main part of their activity--work with personnel.

Hence the first requirement that is the same for all--an analysis of the causes of the arrears in any section of both the production and nonproduction spheres must begin with an evaluation of personnel and work with them. As a result, any project must be salvaged by beginning with personnel.

As of today the republic's national economy has a detachment of specialists with higher education amounting to more than 150,000 people. The task of party committees consists in being able to find the ones with initiative who are energetic managers, who respond to the demands of the time, and are capable of working in a new way.

Restructuring in personnel work is impossible without the force of party influence and increased militancy and activity on the part of local party organizations. Today there are 5,500 of them in the republic and they represent an immense force. The majority are headed by mature, intelligent and authoritative personnel. More than 64 percent of the secretaries are specialists with a higher education.

But many of them are still moving in the old rut, without manifesting initiative, they are avoiding crucial, inherent issues, they are under the thumbs of administrators, and they do a poor job of utilizing the rights that have been granted to them. Nor do they have enough of an effect on the level of discipline, responsibility and order, including among communists.

As before, a number of them are held captive by a situation of complacency and placidity. Suffice it to say that during the past year and the first quarter of this year 66 managers of various ranks have been fired because of failing to provide leadership and allowing violations. But in not a single case was this done on the initiative of party organizations. And this is nothing other than avoiding crucial issues and being afraid to damage relations.

Or another issue. Today everybody agrees that the most important instruments for restructuring are constructive, effective criticism and self-criticism, and these should be addressed to specific people. There have already been certain positive changes in the nature of criticism.

While previously it was directed from above to below, now no less of it, and in certain cases even more, comes from below to above. And this is good on the whole. But there are indications that people have been persecuted for criticism and yet not a single one of the suppressors has been punished for this by the local party organization.

We should also like to draw attention to the following. Study has shown that in party meetings of the Dushanbe Silk Combine, the railroad center, the Sredazspetsavtomatika Production Association and a whole number of other local party organizations there has not been a case where a worker has criticized another worker, a foreman has criticized a foreman, a shop chief, another shop chief, and so forth. It turns out that we criticize our subordinates, since that is easier, or our superiors, since that is fashionable, but the most useful and effective criticism--of one another--is lacking. And yet the effect is quite different when the remark about job duty is made by a boss and when it is about a matter of conscience--by a comrade or a colleague.

And the greatest evil is when criticism is not followed by concrete action and everything remains the way it was. This kind of situation can be found in many party organizations.

Even after the January (1987) Plenum of the Central Committee, in many labor collectives the leaders--from brigade leaders to directors--were elected at meetings of workers from several candidates. This was received fairly well by the workers and is already producing positive results. But it is necessary to understand clearly that this is only the beginning. As in any new thing, special attentiveness, tactfulness and good preparation are needed here.

The difficulties were mainly caused by serious shortcomings in the work with personnel by previous leaders of city party organizations. A poor work style led to a situation where communists and the aktiv no longer had complete faith in the city party committee or its buro.

Where did Comrade M. Tobarov begin? With meetings, conversations with various categories of workers, the aktiv, with those on whom the fate of the work depends--with the brigade leaders, specialists and managers of the businesses. He did not forget the veterans and the youth.

Certification has been conducted for managers and specialists. During the course of it almost 50 workers registered on the staff of the gorkom buro proved to be inadequate and were fired. Through open discussion a reserve of personnel was created anew. Reports were heard from about 900 managers and specialists. The elections of the chairman of the ispolkom of the Soviet of People's Deputies in the city was conducted in a new way.

The results were not slow in being felt. The number of businesses being operated at a loss in the rayon decreased and the growth output of agricultural products per worker in 1986 increased by 21 percent as compared to 1985. The monetary income from the sale of agricultural products increased by almost 6 million rubles. Positive changes were noted in other spheres as well.

In particular, we should initiate everywhere the work done on the initiative of the party gorkom for transforming teahouses [chaykhany], or if we call them by their real names, places of prayer, into what they should have been in the first place--centers for culture, intelligent recreation and communication among people. This met with complete understanding and support from the population.



The correct course, in our opinion, was taken by the Ashtskiy Party Raykom in Leninabad Oblast, which has been headed by Comrade A. Abduvaliyev since November 1985. Reliance has been placed on the local party organizations here as well. They have revised their attitude toward personnel at all levels and they have interesting approaches to work with the reserve. The rayon party organization has created a situation of mutual demandingness and efficiency and the indicators of economic activity have improved.

But the majority of party committees have not yet been relieved of the burden of old forms and methods, approaches and criteria for evaluation, and they are far from fully utilizing the independence that has now been granted to them.

Thus the buro of the Leninabad party obkom, having heard the report from the Nauskiy Raykom, drew the conclusion that the efforts of the party organizations and soviet and economic agencies of the rayon were not well directed toward searching for reserves for increasing the effectiveness of production and putting them to work.

The raykom and its buro have not revised their style and methods of work and there has been no appreciable improvement in the activity of local party organizations. Instead of strengthening labor and state discipline, here they have entered on the path of improving the appearance of things and giving numerous promises and assurances.

A similar picture can be observed in the Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab gorkoms and the Dzhilikulskiy and certain other party raykoms.

As before, many secretaries do not have a good enough command of party methods of management, they take the place of executives and they act like administrators, without relying on the local party organizations. We have a right to address such a rebuke to the first secretaries Comrade D. Abidov--Khodzhentskiy, Yu. Kurbanov--Matchinskiy, I. Chillyayev--Ilichevskiy, T. Turdiyev--Kabodiyenskiy and I. Takhirov--Oktyabrskiy raykoms, and the second secretaries Comrade A. M. Gvozdev--Tursunzadevskiy Gorkom, L. M. Nechayeva--Kolkhozabadskiy and V. A. Pavlenko--Zafarovodskiy Party Raykom.

Last year showed that not all party workers can pass the test of restructuring. For this reason, since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan it has been necessary to replace 19 first secretaries, 27 second secretaries and 15 secretaries for ideology. Seven first secretaries were fired for various shortcomings, mainly in personnel work and their style and methods of leadership.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan is quite concerned about the situation with personnel in legal protection agencies. They have still not gotten rid of the incompetent, unconscientious, irresponsible and even underhanded people. There are numerous cases in which workers of these institutions have broken the law, violated professional ethics, contributed to crimes and, conversely, have detained and arrested innocent people.

The attention and demands placed on this area have significantly increased in the recent past, and greater requirements are also placed on personnel. Just during the past year 18 procurators and 15 chiefs of territorial subdivisions of internal affairs agencies have been replaced. Seven people's judges have been recalled early and released. For low indicators in their work and complacency the management has been changed in all legal protection agencies of Leninabad Oblast, and this same issue is being resolved in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast. On the whole, about 400 people were released from legal protection agencies in 1986 because of negative factors.

It was especially emphasized in a report at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan that we are placing serious hopes in the new minister of internal affairs, Comrade K. Pulatov, relying on his experience and knowledge. But we do not understand why restructuring of the agencies' work is proceeding so sluggishly. Not only the operational situation, but also the policy in the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is improving slowly.

What has been said pertains also to the republic procurator's office (Comrade G. S. Mikhaylin), the Ministry of Justice (Comrade Sh. D. Makhmudov), and the Supreme Court (Comrade I. Khodzhayev).

It must be admitted that far from all party committees devote the proper attention to the activity of administrative agencies, especially when it comes to personnel work. This can be seen from the example of Kulyab Oblast, where it was necessary to take the most serious measures in order to rectify the situation, right down to replacing the management.

We must self-critically admit that many of our personnel, including Soviet workers, have been taken over, to use M. S. Gorbachev's expression, by social deafness.

Let us take one of the crucial problems--housing. During the preceding five-year plan, considering all sources of financing, the workers failed to receive 1.3 million square meters of housing.

The plan for the introduction of residential buildings was not fulfilled in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast, the city of Dushanbe or Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy, Leninskiy, Komsomolabadskiy and Fayzabadskiy rayons. The construction of housing by the internal financing and cooperative methods is developing poorly.

Only one conclusion can be drawn: the ispolkoms of the local soviets and the party committees are working quite inadequately on fulfilling the instructions of the 27th Congress concerning providing each family with an individual apartment or home by the year 2000.

The situation is not improving with respect to providing the population with hospital beds, outpatient-polyclinic institutions and other public health facilities. An alarming situation has developed with respect to the health of mothers and children.

Even in this situation many workers are thinking in old categories. Thus they allot limits and funds and include them in the plan, and then we begin to do something. But it is better if someone comes and builds something.

At the January Plenum Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev discussed the inadmissibility of replacing soviets and taking charge of them. Taking this instruction for unwavering execution, the party committees and also the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic and the Council of Ministers must render assistance to the ispolkoms in restructuring their activity and increasing their initiative and responsibility for solving the problems and issues that are within their competence. It is also necessary to contribute in all ways to increasing the role of kishlak and village soviets and strengthening their authority.

In this connection we should like to remind people that the next elections to local soviets are drawing near. In keeping with the instructions of the January plenum, they will differ radically from the elections of past years.

As an experiment, in five rayons of the republic they will in multimandate districts. It is necessary to prepare very well and thoroughly for this so that the experience can be used in the future. Special responsibility here is placed on the deputy chairman of the presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet, Comrade I. F. Dedov.

The elections of people's judges and the certification of personnel of soviet and public agencies must be approached in exactly the same way and conducted so that they serve the cause and not the form.

Expanding the front of the restructuring means to enlist an immense mass of youth in it and to make better use of its energy, fervor, attachment to the new, and intolerance of shortcomings. Certain steps were taken in this direction during the course of the preparations for the 24th Congress of the Komsomol of Tajikistan. The reports and elections to the Komsomol that took place in an open and democratic form brought forth many new leaders with initiative. They began to observe more strictly the principles of selection and advancement according to business and political qualities and the ability to attract and lead youth.

But among the leaders of the Komsomol personnel in the republic, in our opinion, there are not enough comrades who have gone through the school of leadership of a local Komsomol organization who also have work experience in production and service in the ranks of the Soviet army. One finds among them people who have selfish career ambitions.

We must make one more serious reproach. The Komsomol is the main source for augmenting our ranks with young people. But how can we do this if up until recently in the Komsomol reserve there were many young people 30 years old and older? Here is one of the examples of a formal approach to the business (Comrade R. K. Alimov) which is encountered a good deal in the Komsomol. And how many initiatives, ideas and widely publicized appeals have been sounded in vain, leaving without a trace.

On the whole it is necessary to develop the initiative and independence of Komsomol committees and respond in a livelier way to their demands as well as to get rid of tutelage and an edifying, commanding tone in leadership of the Komsomol or, conversely, playing games with the youth. The party committees in Kulyab Oblast and also Vakhshskiy, Dzhirgatal'skiy and other party raykoms are guilty of this.

What makes up the authority of a party worker or any leader?

First and foremost, it is high moral qualities, personal modesty, his cultural level, his professional competence, a creative approach to work, the readiness to take on responsibility, the ability to work with people, and a benevolent attitude toward them.

Unfortunately, many of our leaders rely only on the authority of their job, regarding it as the right to a special position and privileges.

The party Central Committee has recently revealed a number of manifestations and cases of this kind and has produced a principled evaluation of managers who have exhibited personal haughtiness, have used their job position for selfish purposes, and have committed various ignoble acts.

The former chief of the industrial division of the party Central Committee, M. G. Klyukin, was relieved of his duties and removed from the staff of the Central Committee, and the former manager of affairs of the Central Committee, K. M. Miraliyev and several other managers were severely penalized under the party policy.

We had to let go a couple of fairly good, promising workers because of their poor handling of ties with friends and relatives and their solutions to personal problems. The Central Committee will continue in the future to hold people strictly responsible for such actions.

A large amount of harm to the cause and authority of the party organization is caused by protectionism, nepotism, local favoritism, and the formation of relative and family groupings and cliques on the basis of this.

Now, especially after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, we can see how far these things have gone and all of their danger. The Central Committee is conducting and will conduct a relentless battle against them. But things are not that bad in the local areas. The majority of cases like this are not revealed by the party organization but become known from letters and statements that are sent to the Central Committee.

Just during the past year the first secretaries of the Ordzhonikidzeabad Gorkom and the Komsomolabadskiy Raykom, U. Khasanov and G. Dzhumayev, were fired for such actions as well as the chairman of the Tursunzadevskiy Gorispolkom, Sh. Tadzhibayev, and a number of other officials were severely punished. We are receiving signals that give us reason to think that this list will have to be augmented.



The buro of the party Central Committee, having considered the question of the serious shortcomings in the distribution of housing constructed with funds from the party budget, has taken severe measures against a number of leaders, including the former first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan.

And one more aspect of the problem. So far we have not succeeded in fully eliminating attempts on the part of individual managers, including secretaries of party committees, to show unjustified concern for workers who have been penalized and putting them back in the manager's chair. This is especially typical of Kulyab Oblast (Comrade S. Khasanov), and the Leninskiy and Kumsangirskiy party raykoms (Comrades U. Shokirov and K. Musayev). The Central Committee has not been freed of this either.

The Central Committee buro thinks that in the future those workers who have not justified the confidence placed in them should be sent to restore their "tarnished" reputation by doing rank and file work in their specialty. I think this will be supported by the plenum.

We must reliably put a stop to any manifestations of nepotism, favoritism, subservience, and petty little bureaucrats who try to sit out times that are difficult for them and sometimes even openly slow up the process of restructuring.

On the other hand, the course taken by the party toward expansion of democratization of the management of all spheres of the life of our society makes it necessary to expand considerably the range of people who have the necessary qualities to take charge of one area of the work or another.

In this connection we should especially mention female personnel. In the republic a good deal has been done and is being done in this area. Nonetheless the problem of promoting women to management and involving them in an active social life continues to be crucial. Everyone is well aware of this and there is no need to give more facts and examples since we already have plenty of them.

They make us aware of the constant need to change our attitude toward this work and do it in a planned and purposive way, and also step up the activity of women's soviets.

But here we should like to warn against having this work follow the path of a campaign for good statistics coming from certain officials, say, secretaries of party committees for ideology, leaders of general divisions, and so forth. Female personnel must be developed and educated purposively and must be promoted not as a matter of form but to the benefit of a concrete cause.

And the main thing is that it is necessary to change radically, in the broadest sense of the word, the attitude toward women who sometimes more than anybody else feel the burden of remnants of the past and old traditions.

In August of last year we extensively discussed the issue of logical work at a meeting of the republic aktiv. Today we should like to discuss in greater

detail only two of the most important areas--international and atheistic education. It is precisely here that a number of complicated problems have accumulated. And they have accumulated because we have not promptly devoted the proper attention to them, to put it simply, we have underestimated them and we have overestimated the results of our work, pretending that what we desired was actually the case.

In M. S. Gorbachev's address at the January Plenum he dealt especially with questions of national relations. He emphasized that there is not a single fundamental issue which could be resolved either in the past or in the present without taking into account the fact that we live in a multinational country.

You will agree that if today we have no special reasons for serious alarm, we have even less justification for complacency. The older generations remember that about 30 years ago there were representatives of dozens of nationalities of the country working in all regions of the republic. And this consolidated the collectives and created that irreplaceable spirit of internationalism, unity and fraternity which helped us to overcome the most difficult experiences.

And what do we see now? In many collectives and even in entire rayons are only a few people of other nationalities, and in some places there are none at all. Each year a large number of non-native population leave the republic and the absolute number of international marriages is decreasing. Typically, valuable, highly qualified specialists and scientific workers are the ones to leave, that is, people whom we need.

There is still a tendency for Russian population to leave the republic. The proportion of Russians in our party organization decreases each year. Young specialists who are sent to us leave because of the difficulties with housing and in solving a number of domestic problems. But we are alarmed by the fact that people who have worked here a long time are also leaving the republic. What is the matter here?

The Division for Organizational Party Work, the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the soviets, the ministries and the departments must now figure out the causes and develop ways of overcoming these undesirable processes.

We are also bothered by the tendency toward national separation that has been clearly marked in recent years. This is manifested in the desire of a certain part of the people to live and communicate only with representatives of their own nationality, to create families only of the same nationality and sometimes of the same local area, and to idealize their customs and traditions, regardless of their essence.

Such phenomena, of course, do not contribute to establishing a Soviet way of life.

And at this time the party organizations instead of taking an aggressive position continue to operate according to the old stereotypes. For example, just during the past 2 years there have been 13 plenums of party committees

and meetings of the republic aktiv at which they discussed questions of international, patriotic and atheistic education. Many good measures taken from life were earmarked.

But as it now turns out this is all it came to, and the secretary of the Central Committee Comrade G. B. Bobosadykova, who is in charge of these problems, and the division of propaganda and agitation essentially put up with spinning their wheels in the matter of restructuring ideological work and while they state the facts, they do not display the proper demandingness of party committees, ministers and departments for carrying these measures out.

Formalism and separation from the realities of life, apparently, have also led to conflicts between foreign and local students in the agricultural institute and the polytechnical tekhnikum of the city of Dushanbe. This fact was the subject of a special discussion in the Central Committee. But, I repeat, this could not have happened if at one time we had not significantly reduced the amount of attention paid to this most important area of educational work. This pertains fully to the activity of the Dushanbe party gorkom (Comrade A. Kh. Khalimov).

When the CPSU Central Committee has always oriented us to take into account the peculiarities of the national structure of the population more fully in our management agencies. We have had no serious problems but nonetheless the Central Committee and the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms must constantly keep this problem in mind and strictly correct those who forget about this point.

The party always has and still does manifest special sensitivity and circumspection in everything that pertains to the development of national relations, including the sphere of language. The scientifically substantiated policy of bilingualism that is being implemented in this country relies on the objective laws of social development.

At the present time the language situation in the republic is characterized by extensive utilization of the Tajik language in all areas of life. This is the structure and content of public education, the higher and secondary specialized schools, publishing activity, the work of the press, radio and television, the state movie administration and cultural institutions, the justice system, the activity of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic and the local soviets of people's deputies and many other things.

Everyone is aware of the figures concerning this. And they specifically refute the demagogic distortions that are beginning to appear to the effect that the younger generation cannot take advantage of all the wealth of Tajik classical literature or participate in the culture and spiritual treasures of their nation, and so forth.

But still we must be even more attentive and cautious regarding these very complicated and, I would say, delicate issues. Indeed, the publication of Tajik classics still does not satisfy the actual demand. There is a constant shortage of textbooks in the humanities disciplines and certain other popular publications in the Tajik language. It is no wonder that the Central



Committee receives letters saying that there is an extremely great shortage of published classics such as Saadi, Dzhami and others both in Tajik and in Russian. And yet in their creative work one can see crucial problems of our day and they can have a great educational effect.

In fact, the ringing slogan, the talent-filled rhyming line would be appropriate for us in restructuring our life and awareness, and their influence would be much stronger than a speech from a podium.

In order to fill in this gap we should more strictly and thoughtfully supervise the thematic plans of the publishing houses. But what happens? Editions of many thousands of copies of publications that nobody needs are published, but the stenographic report of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan has not yet been published.

But do we really need any special instructions from above in order, at the parents' request, to have in kindergartens groups that use the Tajik language, in order to have visual agitation, the names of streets, organizations, institutions and advertising be bilingual? No, this all depends on the position and political maturity of the local agencies and party and trade union organizations.

But still in reality there is another problem: some of the Tajiks do not know their native language well, especially the literary language. Last year, for example, in the entrance examinations to the VUZes about half of the 27,000 applicants received unsatisfactory marks in their native language and literature. So would it not be better to develop effective ways of filling in this disturbing gap than to complain constantly about the illiteracy of a certain part of the population?

At the same time the Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Education and the Ministry of Education of the Republic must develop the latest methods of intensive teaching of the Tajik language and prepare and create self-instruction, conversation exercises and dictionaries of the Tajik language, including technical terms, as well as a unified program for studying the Tajik language for people who are not of this nationality who have expressed a desire to study it and, as life indicates, we have many of these people, including among the Russian personnel and highly skilled workers who, if they knew the language, could do a better job of conveying their knowledge and experience to the younger people from the local population. Here is one of the real ways of bringing the nationalities closer together and educating them in the spirit of brotherhood and friendship.

Of course when undertaking measures for further internationalization of life in the republic, the party committees and workers of ideological institutions must not bypass the openly nationalistic statements and the groundless complaints about the crowding out of the Tajik language. It is precisely such a spineless position that serves as favorable soil for the development of nationalistic prejudices.

Nor can we close our eyes to the fact that in a number of cases these are promoted by disrespectful, condescending behavior by what I would call a



philistine backward part of the Russian population with respect to the indigenous population. We must most resolutely repulse this as well. Taking all these aspects into account, when promoting personnel and evaluating their political qualities we absolutely must know how deep the spirit of internationalism goes in them.

In addition to a radical improvement in the teaching of the Tajik language, it is necessary to improve teaching of the Russian language as a means of international communication and an important channel through which our people can become aware of the achievements of world science and culture, as well as an outlet for national scholars, writers and artists into the unionwide and international arena.

We cannot be indifferent to the fact that a considerable part of the rural youth go into the army without knowing the Russian language well and end up mainly in construction battalions. For this same reason many graduates of secondary schools cannot enter the central VUZes of the country and if they do they experience immense difficulties in learning. This is something to think about.

At republic congresses of creative unions and conferences of social scientists it has been noted that in certain works of literature and art and even scientific works there are attempts, under the guise of national originality, to idealize nationalistic and religious remnants and to embellish the historical past.

Research of scholars is frequently directed toward antiquity, to the detriment of the study and interpretation of crucial problems of modernity. Excessive involvement in the past, its idealization, and the inability to evaluate its historical place and role from class positions frequently disorient youth and lead to a false understanding of national pride, causing serious harm to international education.

It is time for the Academy of Sciences (Comrade M. S. Asimov) to take more clear-cut positions regarding these issues and to evaluate cases like this in terms of principle.

We cannot consider it to be a part of the order of things that the subject of internationalism is gradually disappearing from literature and art. Ideological divisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan have not fully developed the work for international education either. So far the work has not gone beyond the point of developing a comprehensive program for international education of the republic's population. And the plenum has a right to demand more active and exacting positions from them and that they do not accumulate problems, but resolve them.

Another crucial issue is atheistic education. More than enough decisions and decrees have been adopted regarding this and all kinds of maintenance measures are being taken. But life provides a real evaluation of the work that has been done, and we cannot consider this evaluation satisfactory. The religious situation remains unfavorable. There continue to be growth violations of

legislation concerning cults. We do not find any serious opposition to the activity of so-called self-styles mullans, "followers" of the Wahabi sect, although much has been said about them from all official quarters.

Why are the measures that are being taken not achieving the goals. Mainly because the leadership of atheistic education by party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and local party organizations is superficial and is formal and declarative in nature.

Atheistic work is neglected in many labor collectives and educational institutions. Certain managers limit themselves merely to conversations about it. One also encounters those who have two standards of morality: one is the so-called "atheistic" which is for show, and the other is religious, which is in effect in their life and actions. It was precisely for this that the secretary of the Yavanskiy Party Raykom, S. Yeftakov, was expelled from the ranks of the CPSU not so long ago and relieved of his position.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan is reacting to such manifestations keenly and in accordance with principle. But one does not feel this in the local areas. At one time the attention of managers of the Vakhshkiy Party Raykom was directed to the neglect and ineffectiveness of atheistic work in the rayon and the growth violations of legislation concerning cults. But no serious measures were taken in the rayon to restructure or activate atheistic work.

You probably already know what this attitude led to. I could remind you that when the administrative agencies of Kurgan-Tyuben Oblast brought a criminal suit against a certain Saidov for slander and keeping narcotic substances, the group of people from the Turkmenistan Sovkhoz in Vakhshkiy Rayon, headed by the former director, R. Palvonov, publicly made a demand to relieve him of his duties after he had provoked disorderliness.

At the present time period, A. Saidov and other active participants in these antisocial actions have been judged in keeping with the law. But attention is drawn to how near and dear this person was to our ideological opponents. The foreign radio has already come out in his defense three times--in the Tajik, Uzoek and Turkmen languages.

It turned out that A. Saidov, when working as an inventory taker at the MBTI at the same time was an unregistered religious confessor.

Palvonov and the deputy secretary of the party committee of the Nuriddinov were expelled from the party. A number of leaders of party, soviet and administrative workers of the rayon were severely punished under party policy. Recently the first secretary of the party raykom, A. Khudoydodov was fired.

The Ministry of Education is clearly paying less attention to personnel problems. During the past 2 years they have been discussed at meetings of the board only once. Yet in the schools it has almost become commonplace to be rude to children, and to have unhealthy attitudes, squabbles, violations of the training and educational process, write-ups and other violations.

Shortcomings and omissions in the work of the higher school have largely been brought about by the circumstance that the personnel base and the group of people who would be responsible for the requirements of the day placed on managers is very irregularly distributed among the regions of the republic. Further evidence of this is the fact that in a number of rayons they do not think about the future or about training a wide range of highly skilled specialists, and they do not do a good job of forming the reserves.

Because of this the Central Committee Buro considers it necessary to express a viewpoint regarding this issue. Our personnel priority is not assigned to anyone--neither to Leninabad nor Kulyab oblasts nor to the Garm group of rayons nor to Pamir. But we must say directly that the Central Committee has certain difficulties in solving personnel problems caused by the aforementioned factors.

All regions of our republic are in equal positions regarding the training of specialists. All they need is well-thought-out, persistent and purposive work on the part of party committees and local soviet agencies in conjunction with the Gosplan, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and other involved departments of the republic. This process should be influenced even in the initial stage when people are being selected for higher and secondary specialized educational institutions and the influence should be active and planned so that the rayons are all fully represented. So far this is not the case.

The Central Committee will continue to follow the line to make sure that all republic management agencies make maximum use of personnel from all regions of the republic. There is an objective need and it is in our mutual interest to make sure that the management party, soviet, trade union and economic agencies of the republic be represented as extensively as possible and that promising young comrades be more extensively recruited into them.

We can say today that a change toward extensive democratization of the personnel policy in the republic organization has been earmarked, starting with the Central Committee. A visible reserve of first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms is being created.

Announcements are made about the vacancies on the Central Committee staff in the party obkoms and republic agencies so that they can express their ideas regarding this and on-the-job training is conducted in the Central Committee and in the local areas.

We have increased the exchange of personnel within the republic. Last year more than 20 people came to us who were sent by the CPSU Central Committee from other regions to full positions on our Central Committee staff. At the same time we sent our comrades to higher party schools in Leningrad, Vilnius, Irkutsk and Kostov. The permanent courses under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan are now going somewhat better although the level and quality of training here leaves something to be desired. This pertains equally to the republic seminar for management personnel.

Comrades! The people elected by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan to the Central Committee and its buro have been working for more than a year now. And it is time to give certain evaluations of their activity.

The buro meetings are taking place at the established times. They are strictly providing for joint discussion of questions and decision-making. A situation has been created which makes it possible for all members and candidate members of the buro to express their opinion freely and candidly.

During the period under consideration there have been two meetings of the buro without an agenda where everyone had the opportunity to share his ideas regarding questions and problems that bother him and make suggestions directed toward making the buro's work smoother and more effective.

A year ago all members of the buro and candidate members of the buro, in addition to their immediate duties, voluntarily took responsibility for supervising the work on one of the problems. This is how it turned out:

Comrade K. M. Makhkamov--the development of the material and technical base for construction;

Comrade P. K. Luchinskiy--development of the city of Dushanbe;

Comrade G. B. Bobosadykova--questions of improving the work of medical and preschool institutions and protection of maternity and childhood;

Comrade G. P. Pallayev--the layout of the territory and the development of conditions for living in rural areas;

Comrade I. Kh. Khayeyev--reforms of the general educational school;

Comrade Yu. Ye. Sukhov--fighting against drunkenness and alcoholism;

Comrade A. D. Dadabayev--improvement of living conditions and public catering at industrial enterprises;

Comrade V. V. Petkel--questions of military-patriotic education, and preparing youth for service in the Soviet Army;

Comrade A. Kh. Knalimov--utilization of internal reserves to produce goods that are in mass demand;

Comrade G. V. Koshlakov--organization of recreation for workers and mass physical culture;

Comrade A. N. Maksumov--organization of processing of agricultural products and the operation of the markets.

But so far not all the comrades are manifesting the proper initiative and activity in accelerating the solutions to the problems listed above.



We have not yet reached a point where every member of the buro regularly visits the labor collectives and local party organizations and gives them the necessary practical assistance. We have not yet managed to arrange an efficient system of working with youth, the creative intelligentsia and veterans.

We are not fully providing for personal participation of members and candidate members of the buros in the organization of the implementation of the decrees adopted by the Central Committee concerning a number of key issues. Today evaluations have been given basically to everyone and the corresponding remarks have been made--perhaps more to some and less to others. I feel that for my part I have not displayed the necessary demandingness or organization of effective control over the implementation of decisions that have been made. The year's work has shown that we are not exacting enough in evaluating the business qualities of personnel and their initiative.

We have not yet reached a point where all members of the Central Committee and members of the inspection commission of the republic party organization are always working in the local areas, mainly to explain and implement decisions made by the party Central Committee.

Members of the Central Committee have not been active enough in preparing for today's plenum. We did not receive any suggestions, new ideas or thoughts from them, although they were given instructions regarding this long before the plenum. It seems that today this gap will be filled.

Comrades! The second year of our post-Congress work has arrived, the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. How far have we come in the economy and what is the main area of the front for restructuring?

Actually, we have put to work only a small part of the reserves for acceleration, and these are the ones on the very surface. So far no significant steps have been taken in overcoming manifestations of stagnation. We have not taken positive strides during the first 3 months of this year either.

Moreover, the results cannot but cause the most extreme concern. They will be the subject of the most serious kind of discussion, ending with the appropriate conclusions.

In this connection I should like to emphasize once again that eliminating the shortcomings that exist in the economy, overcoming the negative tendencies in its development, especially in connection with the changeover of branches of the national economy to new methods of management, and improving management of production depend largely on a radical restructuring of the activity of economic departments and above all the republic gosplan. It is called upon to direct its efforts toward solving long-range problems and providing for proportional and balanced development of the economy.

Yet the Tajik SSR Gosplan, its chairman (Comrade M. B. Babayev) and its deputies have essentially relinquished control over the observance of planning discipline and are reconciling themselves to the shortcomings that exist here.

This is manifested in mistakes in solving problems of providing for comprehensive development of the branches of the national economy, the distribution of productive forces, and the balance of current and long-range plans. The practice of making adjustments and incorrect distribution of annual plans among the various quarters are continuing. For example, with the approval of the Gosplan, only 7 percent of the housing included in the annual plan will be introduced during the first quarter of this year.

In connection with the changeover of enterprises to self-support and self-financing, the improvement of the entire financial mechanism, and improvement of control and inspection work, new tasks are raised for the Ministry of Finance as well.

A good deal is being done. We are searching for reserves for augmenting the circulating capital of the ministries, departments and enterprises and for strengthening the republic's state budget. But we judge the effectiveness of the work of the Ministry of Finance, like other economic agencies, primarily in terms of the financial situation and the branches of the national economy. And there are many questions here.

As we know, a considerable number of enterprises regularly allow production costs to increase and many construction organizations operate at a loss. The financial situation in the system of the republic Gosagroprom causes the most serious concern. But the Ministry of Finance has not yet defined its position regarding this issue.

The Tajik SSR should provide an example and organize exemplary fulfillment of today's requirements regarding the issues of control of the republic national economy and solving all current and long-range problems.

Almost every month the Council of Ministers considers the results of the development of the national economy and once a year it hears reports on the work of each ministry and department of the republic, and adopts voluminous decrees, but they contain only statements of shortcomings and there is no real critical approach or principled evaluation of the work of the managers.

The resolutions frequently contain the same names of managers, who always make promises and give assurances that they will bring order into the area of work entrusted to them. But everything remains just words, the shortcomings continue to exist, and the number of enterprises that are behind the times does not decrease.

The course of restructuring in the ministries of bread products (Comrade A. A. Abdulladzhonov), communications (Comrade D. I. Popov), local industry (Comrade A. V. Baymatov), light industry (Comrade Sh. K. Kalandarov), and the state movie administration (Comrade R. Z. Inoyatova) cannot be considered satisfactory.

Comrade I. Kh. Knayeyev must be more efficient, exacting and strict in the good sense of this word, he should visit the local areas more frequently, display greater initiative, and instill these qualities in his deputies and his entire staff.

Our mass media should become a militant and effective weapon for restructuring. On the whole one can sense a fresh start in their work. There is more sharpness, concreteness and creative search. And we welcome and support this. There are practically no serious articles in republic newspapers that escape the attention of the Central Committee.

But at the same time there are many complaints against workers of the press, radio and television, especially the editors of rayon newspapers.

Their common shortcoming is that they do not discuss the experience of restructuring enough and frequently it is superficial, especially on the level of what is impeding it and holding it up. There is no in-depth analysis or interpretation of new tendencies in economics and social life or a search for constructive ways of solving our numerous and complicated problems.

We cannot approve of the fact that the authors of critical materials sometimes take a light, insulting tone and resort to sensationalism.

As you quite correctly noted, esteemed Aleksandr Nikolayevich, at a recent meeting with leaders of the mass media in the CPSU Central Committee, in the press "the art of discussion is still poorly developed; if they praise you, they praise you to the skies, and if they criticize you, they tear you to pieces."

These aberrations, this one-sidedness, this hastiness in evaluations and conclusions are even more noticeable in many of our newspapers and radio and television broadcasts. Indeed, today the press should be struggling to elevate the individual, to affirm his worth, and not denigrate him with falsehood and unfairness.

Specific people are carrying out the restructuring. They have both merits and shortcomings. But this is no reason to see only the bad sides.

A great many problems have arisen and still are arising during the course of restructuring. To help the party organizations to notice and resolve them correctly and promptly, to perceive in the torments the growth of something new--herein lies one of the major tasks of the republic press.

And in conclusion: restructuring is the main direction of our activity under the current five-year plan. We see that this process is developing in a persistent struggle against everything that is old and outdated.

As in any struggle there are inevitable conflicts of opinion and overt or covert opposition. As in any struggle, today it is especially necessary to have self-sacrifice and courage, devotion to the party cause, resoluteness, persistence and expediency. These qualities must be persistently developed in all of our personnel.

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LENINGRAD LAW OFFICIALS DISCUSS OPENNESS IN REPORTING CRIME

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 87 p 3

[Roundtable discussion led by I. Lisochkin, LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA special correspondent: "More Openness"; first five paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress and the January Plenum of the party Central Committee presented all the cadres, including the law enforcement agencies, with a specific task: to persistently learn to work under conditions of expanding democracy and openness, depending on the trust and support of the people. It was stressed that an important role in expanding openness and in informing the Soviet people belongs to the press.

For many years, the newspapers, television and radio did not give enough information about crimes, violations of the law and extraordinary occurrences which really did happen. A general "taboo" was placed on a number of such dangerous phenomena as, for example, drug addiction. The press did not really react to the fall in social morals, a manifestation of which was the increase in drunkenness and a rise in the crime rate.

Today all the restrictions in this sphere have been lifted. The press is sincerely striving to see "that we have no dark corners where the mold can again begin to grow". However, in order to achieve a truly high level of informedness of our readers, we must work and work. We have complex questions, gaps and problems in this area.

These problems were discussed by Boris Fedorovich ZHIGULIN, chief of the justice department, Lensovet Ispolkom; Vladimir Ivanovich VASYUKOV, chief of the justice department, Lenoblsoviet Ispolkom; Viktor Mikhaylovich YEGORSHIN, chief of the criminal investigations department, Lenoblgorispolkom GUV D [Internal Affairs Main Administration]; Vladimir Ivanovich POLUDNYAKOV, chairman of the Leningrad city court; Aleksandr Ivanovich BUKALIN, deputy chairman of the Leningrad oblast court; Yevgeniy Vasilyevich SARYGIN, Leningrad deputy procurator, and Yuriy Aleksandrovich PROKOFYEV, Leningrad oblast deputy procurator, at the "roundtable" discussion conducted by LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA.

Our special correspondent I. LISOCHKIN conducted the roundtable discussion.



[Moderator] In January our newspaper printed three short items of correspondence: "Along Bloody Tracks," "Only Girls Live in the Dormitory," and "'Marlboro' For 130,000." However, they did attract attention, since LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA had never before printed such up-to-date materials on crime. Later we introduced a permanent column entitled "Short Line," to which we attribute much importance. It allows us to inform Leningrad residents in concise form and in up-to-date manner about the most varied and typical crimes, violations of the law, accidents and other extraordinary occurrences happening in the city. And now the question--to what degree, in your opinion, are such publications needed?

ZHIGULIN: I believe that they are absolutely essential. Yes, there are various crimes committed in our city of many millions of residents, and the newspaper should write about all of this. Otherwise, it would not reflect real life. Of course, we must maintain rational limits, and very much here depends on the journalists. Specifically, I believe it's too bad that we don't objectively compare the data on crime in our country with the corresponding data on crime in the West. Such a comparison could be quite telling. But on the whole, I repeat: the newspaper, from my standpoint, must objectively and precisely reflect even the most negative phenomena if they exist.

[Moderator] We are always very sensitive to the opinions of the readers. Not everyone shares the viewpoint which you expressed. Here are some letters. By our volume they are very few--there are only 11 of them. Their authors believe such publications to be principally incorrect. The letters vary. They accuse some newspapers of "pursuing unhealthy sensationalism". In others the authors ponder and ask the question, "Do we really need this?...".

POLUDNYAKOV: Any sincere opinion deserves to be respectfully reviewed. The matter here, evidently, is not merely in the unusual nature of such publications. Some readers believe that they do no good, and even bring harm. This means that you and I must, by the very character of the materials and by an interpretation of the events, convince the readers of the necessity of these publications. Thus, I believe that the thematics of "Short Line" should be made broader and more varied, and most importantly--more acute. Why do you select mainly reports on criminal acts?

[Moderator] The answer here is simple. First of all, the journalists have established contacts with the Internal Affairs Main Administration. The GUV D currently gives us daily reports on what happened in the city and the oblast. Our system of contacts still needs improvement, but it exists, it works, and you see its results in the pages of the newspaper.

Of course, we plan to expand the thematics of "Short Line". Court proceedings should also be included in it. And here is the counter question: Can the city court, like the GUV D, inform LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA and other publications in an up-to-date manner through press releases about the most important and socially significant criminal and civil proceedings which are being reviewed?

POLUDNYAKOV: For us this is a new formulation of the question. We have never prepared such information intended for the press. Thus, purely technical questions will arise here which must be resolved. I would like to point out also that at present the heads of all the law enforcement agencies meet on a monthly basis

with journalists, and will continue to do so. Isn't this enough from your standpoint?

[Moderator] Both these meetings and the exchange of opinions which takes place at them are very important to us. But they are still not enough. The editorial staff cannot do without extensive, continuous and up-to-date information. This is the basis of all our work.

BUKALIN: As I understand it, the editorial staff will itself evaluate the obtained information, select the cases which it will deal with, and determine the scope, genre, etc...Is this right?

[Moderator] Just about right. Although the recommendations of competent persons on any case, will naturally be gladly received.

POLUDNYAKOV: The courts, primarily the rayon courts, review thousands of cases. Nevertheless, I believe that analysis and preparation of information is possible. In any case, we should give it a try.

BUKALIN: I also believe that it's possible.

[Moderator] I would like to direct the same question about preparing information for the press to our procurators.

SHARYGIN: Are you referring to cases which are under investigation?

[Moderator] No. The entire work of the procurator's office. Here is a specific example. The procurator warns a certain administrator about the inadmissability of breaking the law. This is a most interesting form of activity by the procurator. But when have we reported on it?...

SHARYGIN: If you are referring to all the activity of the procurator's office, then here too the difficulty of selection arises, because there is a great volume of material. Nevertheless, I believe that such selection is possible, and in principle we are ready to give out information.

PROKOFYEV: We too are ready to do this. I believe that if with the aid of the press we can inform Leningrad residents, for example, about the investigations which the procurator's office is conducting and of the measures which are being taken on them, this will be very useful. Openness is particularly necessary here because we sometimes encounter cases where certain administrators conceal the shortcomings which have been discovered from the public and keep them secret from their labor collectives.

[Moderator] Openness is a wonderful and necessary thing. After all, truth is the living water of restructuring. However, the law enforcement agencies specifically have their own peculiarity. And along with that which is "permitted" there is that which is "forbidden". Tell us, please, about this. Both to enlighten us newspapermen, and for the information of the readers.

YEGORSHIN: I am sincerely convinced that there are no crimes which cannot be written about. Even if these are robberies or thefts. Both, unfortunately, occur

in life. The question is only in the tact of the author. But for us, investigation workers, a most serious question is who and what kind of information to give out? After all, it could be used by the criminal who is under investigation. There are many complications here, up to a situation where a real threat to human life might arise. Therefore, in some cases we are forced to limit information (which, by the way, is also worldwide practice) until that time when the criminal is caught and rendered harmless.

SHARYGIN: There is such a thing as investigative secrecy. It has been established by law. But this is not an absolute concept existing in and of itself. Here the problems are about the same as what the chief of the Criminal Investigation Department mentioned. Publications about the course of an investigation are allowable. However, only the investigative organs resolve this question. That is their inalienable right.

PROKOFYEV: I believe that in a number of cases publicity is necessary. Let us assume that there has been a misappropriation of socialist property in especially major proportions. Tens of persons are arrested. Since the investigation, and then also the trial, drag on for several months, many people begin to feed on rumors and fabrications. And this is always bad. I believe that in such cases the investigative organs should inform the public about the essence of the crime committed and the persons brought to criminal responsibility. Obviously, in no case should the fate of these persons be predetermined. Only the court will later determine this.

POLUDNYAKOV: We in court essentially have only one secret. This is the secrecy of the deliberation room where the fate of the accused is decided and where no outsiders are permitted. There are no others...Over 99 percent of all cases are reviewed in open court proceedings, and anyone who wishes may be present at them.

BUKALIN: Practically the only exceptions here are sex crimes. Understandably, this is done in the interests of the victims. And, I believe, the question of expanding openness here is not raised by anyone.

[Moderator] Do the participants of the "roundtable" have any suggestions or wishes?

YEGORSHIN: I would like to focus the specific attention of this newspaper on the huge detriment which misappropriation of socialist property brings to this very day. Products and raw materials, instrumentation and building materials, calculators and telephones are misappropriated... Quite often this occurs simply because there is no concern for protecting socialist property. There is no order. At the same time, there are people who are charged with maintaining this order. They receive their salaries on a regular basis. I believe that the economic managers and the party and soviet organs must in every case bring to strict responsibility in accordance with the law those persons who in one way or another facilitate the misappropriation of state property.

The problem of crimes committed by minors is very acute. It often arises because the leisure time of juveniles is not organized.

[Moderator] From the information which we receive from GUV D in our contacts with the administration's workers, we already have the beginnings of topics for problems articles and essays. These are the misappropriations of which you speak, as well as order in youth dormitories, and many other topics. These topics are currently being reviewed by the editorial staff, and the result should be rather principled and sharp commentaries.

PROKOFYEV: I should hope that the journalists and newspaper authors have an attitude of utmost respect for the law. Neither emotions nor "common sense" should stand in the way of its requirements. It was no accident that the January Plenum noted that true democracy does not exist outside the law or beneath the law. Everyone must remember this.

ZHIGULIN: Let me briefly present a suggestion on expanding the section entitled "Official Chronicles" in LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA. The Lensovet Ispolkom makes many important decisions which touch upon the interests of a large number of Leningrad residents. Yet they often remain unknown to the newspaper readers. This must be decisively corrected.

VASYUKOV: I have listened carefully to the course of the discussion. I agree with the opinions of my colleagues and with the conclusions that have been reached. Allow me to express just one judgement. It seems to me that the publications which are the subject of our discussion have a certain slant. Let us see. The newspapers give widespread publicity to articles and essays about negative occurrences in life, about crimes and violations of the law. This does not evoke any objections. There are many materials which sharply criticize the work of the law enforcement organs. I do not want to refute just criticism in the slightest degree. It is just too bad that these two directions are practically all... At the same time, there are many specialists and devoted people working in the law enforcement agencies. After all, the criminal cases about which you, the journalists, write did not arise by themselves. Human thought and work went into them. This too is fully objective. Therefore, if specific examples were used to illustrate the difficult work of the official in charge of operations, the investigator, the procurator, and the judge, as well as to show what is new in their work in connection with the restructuring, this, I believe, would only be of benefit.

[Moderator] Thank you, comrades, for the suggestions you have expressed. I believe them to be correct, and I hope that my colleagues will share this opinion.

The January Plenum sounded the famous Leninist thesis that in our state--the state of the workers and peasants--the people are concerned with everything, since this is their state. They must know all and judge consciously about everything. As we all understand, we cannot spare any effort in the realization of this great thought.

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WIFE'S INTRODUCTION, TVARDOVSKIY'S POEM ON STALIN PUBLISHED

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[Introduction by M.I. Tvardovskaya, poem with drafts by A. Tvardovskiy:  
"A. Tvardovskiy. From His Creative Legacy"; phrases enclosed in slantlines  
printed in italics in text]

[Text] Trips through the rayons of the Smolensk region gave A. Tvardovskiy, a  
22-year old pedagogical institute student and nonstaff correspondent of the  
oblast newspaper RABOCHIY PUT, the idea of a story (povest) about the  
countryside.

The idea of the story and the first drafts, like its title "Enemies" which was  
briefly glimpsed in the Smolensk press, date to 1932. But the main part--  
written in 1933--was later rewritten in 1935 (without the previous title, it  
should be noted) and then abandoned for a time by the author.

Two trips--to Zubtsovskiy and Prechistenskiy rayons (both in 1932)--played an  
important role in the start of the work. In Zubtsov Tvardovskiy made lengthy  
observations of the interrelationship that had already developed in practice  
between the kolkhoz and all the leaders of the rayon center organizations--  
from the raykom to the machine tractor station inclusively. At the Pamyat  
Lenina Kolkhoz (Prechistenskiy Rayon) he met a born leader who had been  
advanced by life itself to the front ranks of the collective farm builders.

With his knowledge of the pre-kolkhoz countryside, the writer could not fail  
to notice the new things that had appeared there, accompanied at times by the  
old rites or former old-fashioned understanding. Class interrelations took on  
new disguised and latently dangerous forms. The figures of the  
plenipotentiary Korolkov and the chairman of the rural Soviet Bykov were  
sharply drawn by Tvardovskiy; these were the earliest sketches in rural prose  
of a locally (and universally) appearing stratum--those who dreamed of the  
"writing profession" and "pure work" (with a Soviet slant, of course!), who  
had finally attained it and created that heavy, hopeful form of reporting  
whose formula was Tvardovskiy later discovered: "... found on the menu, but  
not in reality."

Both the idea of the story and its characters apparently fascinated Tvardovskiy: for a long time the Pamyat Lenina Kolkhoz was a kind of laboratory for the writer; he regularly and carefully studied the various changes and shifts there which arose within the kolkhoz itself and resulted from interposed circumstances.

The author did not return further to the chapters and drafts after recopying them into a separate notebook. But he saved them like his other notes--economic, financial, and others--made at the Pamyat Lenina Kolkhoz. Obviously he did not exclude the possibility of returning to this story sometime in the future.

The marked autonomy of the parts written, which are not linked by unity of action but merely by occasional meetings of characters or mention of their names, makes it impossible to assume with certainty what the main plot line of the narration was, especially since the concept appears to have changed.

The initial title "Enemies" permits an assumption about the actions of the returned kulak Gusev. There is an allusion to this in the chapter "Yefim Saushkin."

The second chapter, entitled "The Plenipotentiary," reveals no fewer and perhaps even broader plot possibilities. The foundation of its plot is the enlargement of the kolkhoz by merging two unfriendly kolkhozes whose mutual hostility goes back to two villages and existed long before the kolkhoz; the consolidation into one kolkhoz was done by the plenipotentiary Korolkov in a few minutes and threatened, as one can assume, the ensuing events. The initial title, which was removed during rewriting, was possibly suggested by the preferable possibilities of this chapter.

The diversity and density of the human crowd in the small space of a "povest" give special dynamism to events which would seem to be of local importance. There are so many characters! And each one bears the imprint of his features and peculiarities, and his understanding of life.

But the natural question arises: why was this early work left unfinished?

There were many reasons for it--objective and subjective. Above all the author lacked the feeling of that freedom which emerges from perfect knowledge and understanding of the subject which he intends to communicate to the world. Tvardovskiy, if I may use a figurative expression, loved to swim freely in his material--using any style. The feeling of complete perfect knowledge ("I know that better than anyone else in the world. Living or dead... ") made it possible to express the idea of reality more fully and objectively and to give a sense of his own position without devoting separate tirades to it.

Where would experience come from in 1932 if a young journalist was in contact with a life that was being born before his eyes? The sketch writer's pen barely managed to record all its mobility and variability. This is how he later recorded this time of infatuation with searching and changes:

It is amazing: under Soviet power--  
And this time is not in the far-off mist--  
What strange and horrible things  
Were proclaimed in our native land.

It's true, in that very Russia  
Where rye had been held sacred for centuries,  
It was mowed for feed and greens,  
Yet there was no time to mow the haymeadows.

It seemed that science managed everything.  
It gives the order and that's that: hurry and do it:  
Now turn a half-arshin layer  
With a plow,  
Then--half a vershok,  
Then--don't plow at all.

One day's commandment, just as strict,  
Would be at cross-purposes to yesterday's:  
Suddenly--dig up the orchard  
To expand the plowland.  
Suddenly--let the clover fields  
Go back to forest...

("But you listen to the grain growers themselves... ")

But purely biographical circumstances were involved in the fate of the story in addition to the objective factors. Work began on the long poem ["poema"] "The Land of Muravia," which absorbed the author's thoughts on the destiny of the countryside and halted the writing of the story. After "Muravia" there was the move to Moscow and studies at MIFI [Moscow Institute of Philosophy, Literature, and History], which cut off Tvardovskiy's trips to the kolkhozes. And without the trips he did not have the influx and updating of material, the necessary sense of its full clarity, and the necessary feeling of complete freedom in work--the guarantee of its success.

And then there was the war and there was "Terkin."

And then--"The Distance Beyond the Distance"...

The long poem "By Right of Memory," published after the earlier story, modest in scope, and last in terms of when it was written, is very essential to reconstructing the author's creative cast of mind. (The long poem was published in the journal ZNAMYA, No 2 of this year. But since at one time Tvardovskiy wanted to print it in NOVYY MIR, whose editor in chief he was in those years, and inasmuch as the work itself is of serious literary-social interest, the editorial office believes it is possible to present the long poem to its readers).

The indicated period of work on the poem (1966-1969) is not quite accurate. This is shown by the drafts and entries from the author's work notebook given here. He appears to have forgotten the existence of the very first lines,

which he had noted down on a page in December 1963 as an idea and then abandoned. Only in July 1965 did the author return to it anew, and then not for long. This time the work was interrupted by his mother's death. The creation of the cycle of poems devoted to her memory for a time extinguished that distant memory with the memory of fresh loss; for a time the idea of the long poem was relegated to the background.

Tvardovskiy was able to return to it in earnest in 1966. He turned from brief "sittings" (as he called his episodic work) to "assiduity." The poem was freed of the variation of episodes and took on scope and depth and acquired its polyphonic motifs of speculation "on time and on oneself." It can be said with certainty that the theme of "five words"--which is central to the poem--took shape in 1966.

It was after this that the idea of including the motif of leaving home appeared, that is, the already-published fragment which had appeared as an independent work under the title "In the Hayloft" (NOVYY MIR, No 1, 1969) before the long poem's publication. Finally, he developed the idea of prefacing all this with a short author's intrusion--a lyric foreword which was supposed to link the work with the poem "The Distance Beyond the Distance" and was to be the first chapter of this long poem. This is the source of the line, "I did not say it all..."

However, the final edition of the poetic preface expresses a different decision by the author: to consider "By Right of Memory" an independent work not formally connected to items published earlier, including the poem "The Distance Beyond the Distance."

The excerpts presented here in the author's early edition will help penetrate more deeply into the idea of the last long poem, which waited for and has finally had its meeting with the reader.

M.I. Tvardovskaya

#### By Right of Memory

Closing the lessons of age,  
The thought comes of itself--  
To address all those, living and dead,  
Who were on the road.  
It is not the first time the idea comes,  
There should be a double check on my words:  
Where the living will perhaps be silent,  
The others will interrupt me:  
"Just a minute!"  
Before departed realities  
You have no right to twist your soul--  
After all we paid the heaviest price  
For these past realities...  
And let that guard detail,  
That harsh warning sign,



Be for me a guarantee of straightforward speech  
By right of living memory.

1. Before Departure

You remember, on a late summer night,  
Already decades ago,  
You and I were smoking in the hay,  
Scorning a prudent warning.

And we did not close our eyes till dawn,  
Though the smell of hay was not like that  
Of sultry July, which does not let  
You fall asleep at night...

Now reciting someone's lines,  
Then suddenly losing the train of speech,  
We were preparing for the distant journey  
From our own first youth.

We did not feel sadness,  
We were friends--a thinker and a poet,  
Abandoning our remote and backward place  
Exchanging it for the whole wide world.

We lived by a cherished plan  
To gulp down  
All the sciences at once--  
With all their vast background--  
And never let them go.

The spirit of doubt was unknown to us;  
We'll handle things,  
And we'll do even more  
For our fathers and grandfathers.

We repeated that all troubles  
Were nothing to us,  
We ourselves expected only happiness--  
Our age had taught us that.

We knew that happiness had to return a hundredfold  
For our enthusiasm  
To tear into the wisdom of the world on the run,  
Smashing it completely to pieces.

We were ready to march.  
What could be easier:  
Don't lie.  
Don't be a coward.  
Be loyal to the people.

[First picture, p 191]

To love our native mother-land,  
To walk through fire and water for her.  
And, if need be,  
To give our lives.

What is easier!  
We leave the behest of our early days intact.  
Only now we add from our experience:  
What is easier--yes.  
Yet what is more difficult?

Such were our distances,  
Unadorned, it seemed to us,  
When in impetuous ardor  
We tried to convince each other of something  
We had no quarrel about.

And talking of sciences to our hearts' content,  
Together we dreamed about,  
On, we dreamed about what trousers  
We would be wearing when we came home later.

Marvel, father, shed a few tears, dear mother,  
What a guest God has brought,  
How he walks by, giving off  
The Moscow smell of cigarettes.

Moscow, the capital, a faraway world.  
And you, our native home,  
How remote and immobile you were,  
You must wait for us to come home on leave.

The rural youth gatherings in winter,  
The parties in their turn,  
We noped the Zagoryevo girls  
Would devour us with their eyes,  
Thrust their hands to us awkwardly,  
Blushing to their ears.

And now somewhere two girls  
In some building in the capital  
With tender reproach would have already waited  
An hour for you and me,  
As in our hayloft we  
Thought out our departure...

And it never seemed to occur to us  
That here, behind our backs,  
Our native home would be torn loose,

Whirl around in dance  
After a wild snowstorm...

You did not forget how at daybreak  
The songs of young roosters  
Notified us, good friends,  
Of the summer turning into autumn.

The bursting of their chick's voices  
There behind the thatched eaves  
Was echoed by childish crying  
And at the same time dashing boldness.

In a kind of suppressed sadness,  
With their fervent cracking voices,  
They seemed to sing a funeral service  
For the end of our childhood days.

It seemed as though they were outdoing themselves  
To sing the ritual tale  
Of something memorable that had existed  
Before us.  
And will exist after us.

But at that time in the hayloft we  
Did not need it.  
We yawned sweetly one after the other,  
Surprised that it was day and we were not asleep.

And in the hour before we left  
There were no portents of  
What gifts fate had  
In store for us later.

Where, and which of us,  
In what year and in what region,  
Would have to listen to our youth  
In that hoarse rooster's song.

We raced off to meet our expected fate  
Not unknowingly and haphazardly.--  
In accordance with our will  
It called us to taste its welcome.  
Was that long ago?  
A lifetime ago...

## 2. The Son Does Not Answer for the Father ["Syn za otsa ne otvechayet"]

The son does not answer for the father--  
Five words by count, exactly five. [eight in English translation]  
But what they contain in themselves,  
You, young people, cannot comprehend all at once.

They were said casually in a Kremlin room  
By him who was for all of us the one  
Earthly arbiter of our fate,  
Whom the peoples extolled  
As their own father at celebrations.

You--  
From a different generation--  
Can hardly comprehend in depth  
The revelation of those brief words  
For those who were guilty without guilt.

You will never be disturbed in any form  
By the once sinister line:  
What was your father, living or dead,  
Before you were even here on earth.

In the intoxication of midnight meetings  
That question has not tormented you:  
After all, you did not choose your father--  
The question is simple these days.

But in those years and five-year plans,  
If you were unlucky with that line--  
You would wordlessly offer yourself up  
Because of that ineradicable mark.

The law demanded that you carry it  
With shame and burning pain.  
And always be on hand--in case of  
A shortage of class enemies.

Be ready for public torment  
And sometimes even bitterer grief,  
When during it your close friend  
Will not look you in the eyes.

Oh, years of unloved youth,  
Of its cruel trials.  
First he was your father, then suddenly he is an enemy.  
And your mother?  
Nothing was said: two worlds,  
And nothing about mothers.

And in that place to which you raced barefoot  
After the flood of those years,  
You are called scum,  
Not even a son, but rather sonny.

And how it is for a young fellow  
To serve an unknown sentence with that nickname  
Is something the author of these lines knows,



And not from stories,  
Not from books.

You're here, sonny, but you're not from here,  
What other reason do you need  
When your parent is on  
That deadly list.

It was bad that you dreamed with such fervor  
Of entering that forbidden circle.  
And your close friend shakes your hand  
Warily...

Then suddenly:  
"The son does not answer for the father."

That mark is henceforth removed from you.  
You are boundlessly lucky:  
You didn't expect it, didn't hope for it,  
And suddenly--you are not guilty of anything.

It's the end of your wild misfortunes,  
Cheer up, don't hide your face.  
Thank the father of the peoples,  
Who forgave you for your own father,  
Who removed the curse with unexpected ease. It was as if  
He had discerned and abolished a strange law  
That he had not been aware of.

(Yes, he could without a hitch,  
Suddenly--whenever the idea struck him--  
Transfer a pile of his mistakes  
To someone else's account;  
To someone's hostile distortion  
Of what the testament proclaimed,  
To someone's /dizziness/  
From the victories he had predicted.)

The son--for the father? He does not answer!  
Amen!

And doesn't it seem inconceivable:  
But what if that son (not sonny!),  
Having received these rights,  
Could answer for his father?

To answer--perhaps not from science,  
Perhaps not after coming from the other side,  
And only, perhaps, remembering  
What kind of hands his father had.

Knots of veins and sinews,  
Gnarled bony fingers,  
The ones he put on the table with a sigh--  
As if they were someone else's--as he sat down.  
And sometimes they were like grapples,  
Grabbing  
    at a spoon handle  
So small and cunning  
He could not get hold of it right away.

Those hands which could not  
Straighten out or form a fist of their own:  
There were no separate callouses--  
They were all one callous. Really--a kulak!

And just like that, figuring that way  
He worked bent over the land for years,  
Sprinkling his unpaid sweat,  
Bent close over it from dawn to dawn.

And on my own I will add  
That possibly at the very hour of disaster  
His manly vanity,  
How it flared--my God!

In those parts where frost hung  
From barrack walls and ceilings  
He may have been filled with pride  
That he was suddenly taken away, as a kulak.

Was it a mistake? Don't say it--  
He told himself,  
Even if it's so, it means he lived there,  
He was in charge, that's why...

And it may be that he left his home and yard  
In great sorrow,  
And rejected the sentence,  
A blind and savage one, randomly rounded off.

And in the crowded livestock car  
That carried them somewhere beyond the Urals,  
He held himself proudly, keeping aloof  
From those whose fate he shared.

There was a bunch with them in that heated car--  
He was stuck in the same wagon,  
Hiding a tear, he would not permit  
Children to reach their crust of bread.

(Look, how soft-hearted you are--  
I suddenly hear from afar,--

Again from the kulak bell tower [figurative viewpoint],  
Again against the enemy's windmill.  
How long, oh lord, how long  
Must I hear the echo of ancient years  
Neither those windmills nor those towers  
Have existed for a long, long time.)

Shielding himself with his hunched back  
From their malicious pleasure or sympathy,  
Among the enemies of Soviet power  
He alone glorified this power.

Its ragged helper,  
Its militant supporter,  
So in the long-awaited land  
He had finally begun to live under it,--  
He was thrown to his fate by it--  
But did not reproach it with spite.  
After all, a minor setback is not the main thing  
When there has been a Great Turnaround...

And he believed: everything will fall into place  
And the revision will not be slow to come,  
As soon, just as soon as Stalin in the Kremlin  
Would personally read his letter.

(The man did not see that from that point on,  
Whether you asked for something or not,  
It was not Lenin, nor even Kalinin  
To whom all Rus appealed.  
It was the one who, for the sake of communism,  
Now revealed a different scope  
And in the newspaper columns  
Read the letters of whole republics--  
Not just in prose, but also in verse.)

But it may be that the man  
Was deciding his fate differently:  
If there was no way back home,  
We won't disappear in just any region.

He was deciding--an attempt without loss,  
Let's make up our own order.  
And--with your leave, Magnitka Mountain,  
Count us among  
The working class...

But no matter how and where the father finds his harbor,  
We are talking about the son, not the father;  
The son does not answer for the father,--  
Secure the road for him.

Five short words.. But year after year  
Those words came to nothing.  
And the name /son of an enemy of the people/  
Had now become the law with them.

And for one line of the law  
Fate now equated everyone:  
Son of a kulak or son of a people's commissar,  
Son of an army commander or of a priest...

The stamp from birth marked  
The young of enemy blood.  
And still it seemed that the country  
Did not have enough marked sons.

It was not for nothing that during the bloody war  
It was rechristened differently:  
Not reproaching them with guilt,  
Which burned the soul like bitter poison,  
The war granted the right  
To death and even a share of glory  
In the ranks of the warriors of the native land.

The military unit gave the soldier  
The name "son"...

Only one fate was terrifying:  
To disappear without trace in battle.

And having tasted and survived that baptismal path  
To the end, half-alive--  
From prison to prison--to the thunder of victory  
To be sent off with a new mark.

No, through the centuries you did not guess  
That it would be your fate, fatherland-mother,  
To gather such an army of your sons  
Under the skies of Magadan.

You did not know  
Where it all started,  
When you were able to nurture  
All those you kept behind the wire fences,  
In that /zone/, dear mother...

Among our holidays and ordinary life  
Not all could even remember,  
The code of rules with which the visiting god  
Called to mortal people.

He said: follow me  
Leave your father and mother,



Everything transitory and earthly  
Leave--and you will be in paradise.

And we, bragging of disbelief in god,  
In the name of our own holy ones  
Strictly demanded that sacrifice:  
Cast off your father, cast off your mother.

Forget from where you came,  
And be aware, don't contradict:  
Any other love  
Harms your love for the father of peoples.

The task is clear, the cause is sacred,  
And so--straight to the supreme goal.  
Betray your brother along the way  
And your best friend secretly.

And don't burden your soul with human feelings,  
Taking it easy on yourself.  
And give false witness in the name of  
And commit savageries with the name of the leader.

Thankful for any fate,  
Just affirm one thing, how great he is,  
Even if you were a Crimean Tartar,  
An Ingush /or a Kalmyk, friend of the steppes/.

Applaud all sentences,  
Which it is not given us to understand,  
Slander the people with whom  
You have been thrown together in exile.

And in the sultry accumulation of outcomes--  
No, not biblical but of our day--  
Extoll the father of peoples:  
He is above everything.  
He sees better.  
He will proclaim all beginnings,  
And all ends, of course.

The son does not answer for the father--  
That is the law, and also means  
The father answers for the son--with his head.

But the good night extinguished  
All laws for him himself.  
And he is not the one responsible for his son,  
No, neither for his son nor his daughter.

And there beside the deaf Kremlin wall,  
Happily he simply does not know

The wild fatherly misfortune  
That covers his sleep beyond the grave...

The children have long since become fathers,  
But we all find ourselves answering  
For the universal father,  
And the trial has lasted decades,  
And no end is yet in sight.

### 3. On Memory

Forget, forget they order silently,  
They want to drown the living past  
In forgetfulness. And let the waves  
Close over it. Forget the past!

Forget the faces of those near and dear  
And the trail of agony of so many fates--  
All of that which was an ancient dream,  
A wild, ugly unreality,  
So forget it too.

But this was a public reality  
For those whose age was cut off,  
For those who became camp dust,  
As someone once put it.

Forget--oh, no, not along with those  
Who did not come from the war--  
The ones who were deprived  
Of even this harsh honor.

They command to forget and sweetly ask  
Not to remember--lock up the memory,  
So as not to accidentally upset  
The uninitiated by that declaration.

No, duty today commands to complete  
All the incomplete statements of the past.  
To the curious Komsomol daughter,  
Just try to come to terms with your Glavlit [Main Administration for the  
Safeguarding of Military and State Secrets in the Press].

Explain, for what and under whose care  
The cases of an unnameable age  
Of bad memory were related  
To a secret article of the law;

What special congress,  
By procedures unintroduced,  
Decided for us  
To place the cross

On this sleepless memory,  
Precisely on this memory.

And who said that grown people  
Must not read certain pages?  
Or that our valor will depart  
And honor in the world will fade?

Or, upon hearing of what has passed,  
We only give the enemy joy,  
Why did we have to pay three-fold  
For our victories?

Are his evil words new to us?  
Or must we forget everything in the world  
That makes us strong, mothers and wives  
Who did not know their own guilt,  
The children who were parted from them  
Both before the war,  
And without the war.

And by the way, speaking of the uninitiated:  
Where are they? Everyone is initiated,  
Everyone knows everything: woe to the people!--  
People know one way or another by birth,  
If not by signs and bruises,  
Then in riding or walking by,  
If not personally,  
Then through others, who personally...

In vain do people think that memory  
Does not treasure itself,  
That the duckweed of time will cover over  
Any past,  
Any pain;

That so on and so forth--the planet flies on,  
Counting the years and days,  
And that the poet will not be held to answer,  
When at the specter of a prohibition  
He is silent about that which sears his soul...

With all the new land we have cultivated  
And covered with sweat and blood,  
Is it worth that price?  
And is our cause just a dream,  
And glory the sound of empty words?

Then the silent ones are right,  
Then all is dust--verse and prose,  
All is just that--cast it out.

Then it is not at all surprising,  
That the voice of truthful memory  
Would foresee more misfortune for us ahead:  
He who zealously conceals the past,  
Will hardly be in tune with the future...

What to consider important, what unimportant today--  
Who knows, but people are not grass:  
They cannot all be crudely turned  
Into groups of ones who do not remember kinship.

Let the generations of eye witnesses  
Go quietly to the bottom,  
Safe oblivion  
Is not given to our nature.

Others carelessly affirmed  
That just in case of future bad times  
All these past realities casting shadows over us  
Are best kept out of the yard [public eye].

But nothing that happened has been forgotten,  
It is not all sewed up tight from people's sight.  
Only falsehood cheapens us,  
And only truth should be brought out in the yard!

And I--no longer young--  
Have no right to grant myself  
A postponement.

To unburden myself--  
I can still manage without delay  
To clothe the numb pain in words.

That pain which sometimes secretly  
Even in the old days cramped our hearts  
And which we deafened with thunderous  
Applause in honor of the /father/.

They roared as loud as they could  
In every hall because  
We always were applauding  
Not just for that father alone.

It always seemed that next to him  
Was the one who had given us his earthly replacement,  
The one who did not like ovations,  
Or at least knew what they were worth.

Whose image the world kept alive  
And eternal beyond the transitory bound,  
Whom the father humbly called  
His teacher.



And crudely coupling the names,  
We praised them both as one  
And wrote on the sacred scripture boards  
As if the essence was the same.

And the terror that the savage times put  
At the head of every bed,  
Taught us to keep silent  
Before the debauch of evil.

He ordered in our voiceless lot  
To turn over the right to thought to the special sector.  
Since that time it has been like an echo  
Of an ancient pain--barely apparent.  
No, give us a sign of a supreme will,  
Give us the revelation of the divinity.

And a special sigh is ready--  
The limit of our daring:  
If only Lenin were to rise from the grave,  
And look at what has come into being...

He would see the breadth and depth  
Behind all the trivia.  
But maybe he would shrug his shoulders  
And mutter:  
"What a surprise!"

Both these and those patiently make guesses,  
Anticipating one court or another--  
Like played-out children  
Waiting for their elders to return.

But everything that was and will be,  
Cannot be turned over, taken off our hands.  
And Lenin will not rise to judge us--  
He was not a god when he was alive.

But you who today are trying  
To bring back past well-being,  
You are calling to Stalin--  
He was a god--  
He can rise up.

And that he is fresh in memory  
In the terrestrial world, father-god,  
Is illustrated today by  
His Chinese model.

Well and so, suppose that in the hayloft  
Where we rejected sleep that night,

Our distances seemed different to us--  
That is no reason to be crushed.

To measure everything with a dependable rule,  
To stay with the essential truth,  
We went through many kinds of testing--  
Each where we had to.

And experience--our respected doctor,  
Sometimes capriciously stern--  
Served up to us by the will of the age  
Its healing potion.

But then we will be as we have been  
No matter what storm may break--  
People

from those people                      who look people

In the eyes,  
Not hiding their eyes.

#### Rough Drafts of the Poem "By Right of Memory"

14 December 1963

For the first time in a long time it seems, in the interval today between waking up early and then going back to sleep, I felt the approach of a poetic theme, that which has not been said and which I, which means not just I, absolutely need to express. It is a vital, essential thought in my life (and by no means only mine!).

The son does not answer for the father--  
He said, the supreme judge...

I am not to answer for my father.  
That he always had to answer  
For me (in his way).

That his hands were curled  
Like crab's claws  
They were covered with solid callouses  
Like the heels (of a shepherd), too large  
For his size, and burned with iron oxide.

15 December

The son is not to answer for the father --  
That is what he said once from his place,  
Momentarily stopping the breath of the congress  
In the Kremlin palace.

And the old hall could not contain these five [in Russian] words,  
They raced off to thousands of hearts,  
These five words which proclaimed  
An end to the bitter curse.

You of another generation  
Can hardly understand fully  
What it meant, that release  
From that predetermined guilt,  
From that column on every application...

16 December

The son is not to answer for the father--  
That is what he uttered once from his place,  
Momentarily stopping the breath of the congress  
In the Kremlin hall.

And this hall could not contain these five [in Russian] words,  
They raced off to thousands of hearts,  
These five words which proclaimed  
An end to the bitter curse.

You of another generation  
Can hardly understand fully  
What that release meant  
For the guilty without guilt.

Children of different years and fates,  
For you it disappeared by itself--  
The torturous question on the application:  
What was your father, living or dead,  
Before you were even on earth?

21 December

Not like a short comment from his place  
In the Kremlin palace--  
The five words struck hearts  
Like the title of a manifesto:  
The son is not to answer for the father.

You who are very far away  
Can hardly understand fully  
What this exculpation was,  
What these five words were for a generation  
Who were all guilty without guilt.

And beyond the barrier of the decades  
It is easy for you on any application,  
The question, the warning line:

What was your father, living or dead,  
Before you were even on earth?

This harmless column will draw  
A smile in advance:  
After all, you did not choose your father  
And you have all your rights,  
But as for the rest--no matter.

But in those years like a black misfortune  
In our native regions of the vast land,  
It oppressed souls like an evil disease,  
That shameful stigma  
Of parents' guilt.

And--suddenly...

Such words were heard from the mouth  
Of the one who in that hall  
And in the whole world was /the one/  
Who already then was usually called  
Our native father...

"The Distance Beyond the Distance" 11

(New<sup>12</sup> Chapters)

1. The Son Does Not Answer for the Father

I did not say it all. Can  
I leave such a speech incomplete.  
Remove here, add there--  
Thus is a portion of truth neglected.

In vain do people think that memory,  
Having fallen silent, will go away by itself.  
That the duckweed of time will cover over  
Any past,  
Any pain.

The planet is unceasing,  
Counting the years and days.  
I did not say it all, and no problem...  
No, what is unsaid burns inside.

No, duty today commands to complete<sup>13</sup>  
All the incomplete statements of the past:  
To the curious Komsomol daughter,  
Just try to come to terms with your Glavlit.

That age is no longer unaccountable,  
It was not begun in jest.



It is open to everyone--to fathers and children  
And the grandchildren of present-day grandchildren.

It is not<sup>14</sup> the voice of truthful memory,  
Lack of memory hides the misfortune...  
He who zealously conceals the past,  
Will hardly be in tune with the future.

\*\*\*

In vain do people think that memory<sup>15</sup>  
Does not treasure itself  
That the duckweed of ancient times will cover over  
Any past,  
Any pain;

That the planet does not slow down its course,  
Counting the years and days.  
And<sup>16</sup> that the poet will not be held to answer,  
If he is silent about what sears his soul.

But no: duty today commands to complete  
All incomplete statements of the past.  
To the curious Komsomol daughter,  
Just try to come to terms with your Glavlit.

So make it clear why the era  
Attributed the costs of the Stalin age  
To the category of oblivion,  
<sup>18</sup> Calling them the costs of the cause.

And why don't people need  
To know everything that was and is.  
Will <sup>19</sup> it take away someone's valor?  
Will someone's honor suffer<sup>20</sup>?

That<sup>21</sup> age is no longer accountable.  
It was started, one way or another.  
<sup>22</sup> And even if it is half-secret to us--  
It will all be thrown wide open to our grandchildren.

[Figure--picture on p 205]

It is not the voice of truthful memory,  
Lack of memory hides misfortune...  
He who zealously conceals the past  
Is clearly not in tune with the future.

## FOOTNOTES

11. Printed from a typewritten copy. The second and third lines are written in by A. Tvardovskiy in longhand.
12. Crossed out: "additional."
13. Crossed out: "it is time for us."
14. Crossed out: "Terrifying."
15. Printed according to the A. Tvardovskiy manuscript on the reverse side of a sheet of paper with the preceding, crossed out, draft.
16. Crossed out: "hardly."
17. The second line of this stanza has four variants. We print them in sequence.  
Crossed out:  
(a) "from life, which surges around/ wants to conceal."  
(b) "into a special drawer."  
(c) "locked in a secret drawer."  
(d) "transferred to a remote archive."
18. Crossed out: "not mentioned aloud."
19. Crossed out "our."
20. Crossed out: "our."
21. Crossed out: "sins."
22. Crossed out: "It is open to fathers and children-  
A useless circular seal."
23. The last stanza of the draft is crossed off with a check. It went into the final text with changes:  
"And, waving off all postponements,  
It is time for me to continue my speech.  
To be able to clothe  
My heart's account into words and lines,  
To take a burden from my shoulders."

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## SOVIET POETRY GIANTS RECALL DIFFICULTIES IN PAST

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 9, Feb 87 pp 27-31

[Article by Feliks Medvedev: "And Our Thoughts Were Pure: About a Certain Meeting 30 Years Later"]

[Excerpts] OGONEK photographer Dmitriy Valtermants requested a quarter of an hour for taking pictures. When they came into the warm and cozy room out of the bitter 30-degree cold and the genial host began serving the guests hot tea with preserves made of some exotic fruit, when he began rolling a film of a poetry reading which he had made a quarter of a century before and had somehow miraculously saved, everyone's eyes were immediately glued to the screen. It was they who were on the screen, and I knew that they would talk. The taxi which had been ordered returned to Moscow without its passenger, and the gate stayed open a long time. An official meeting of a commission took place without one of its members.

The camera shutters clicked, though, the magnetic tapes turned, and the talk never died down. How gripping it was simply to look at them and listen to them, people who were born in the '30s, began writing poetry in the '40s, published their first collections in the '50s, gained world fame in the '60s, were included in school readers in the '70s, and published collected works in the '80s! In a word, without slighting other remarkable poets, their peers and contemporaries, I want to talk with these, with people who had probably been slightly more beloved to the public, to the readers, than anyone else of their generation. Yes, they were the ones, Andrey Andreyevich Voznesenskiy, Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Yevtushenko, Bulat Shalovich Okudzhava and Robert Ivanovich Rozhdestvenskiy, who were the brightest stars on the horizon of Russian poetry in the '50s. Those years which Leonid Martynov described quite accurately: "An amazingly powerful echo! Obviously that kind of era." That purifying era when everyone was excited by the concepts "freedom," "truth," "justice" and "conscience" being heard anew.

The atmosphere today somehow corresponds to that era. We are breathing more fully the purifying ozone now of our times, and art is spreading its wings, shaking off the stagnancy, the primitiveness, the indifference and the circumstances.

...Look at the photograph. How tranquilly the guests gathered in Peredelkino are conversing! One could think that they have not parted since the tides of

time brought them together 30 years ago. And a lot has passed between them: differences of destiny, personal tragedies and soaring times, changing readers' tastes, the transformation of their own views. It is no small matter to live alongside, next to one another, experience love, jealousy and pride, distressing and being distressed, for 30 years. And although not together, not shoulder to shoulder, they all shared the same experiences, and these linked their destinies forever. It could not have been otherwise: they are all selflessly devoted to the most important thing in their lives--poetry, art, the word--after all.

And if they did something wrong, let the future be the judge--of that which was done and that which remains to be done. But for now....

For now, I would ask them to look back. It is fashionable to do that today, to engage in "reminiscence," in "retrospection." And not to freeze the moment. Let the moments of that "togetherness," let the opportunity of the unexpected intercourse unite their memories and reflections with the thoughts of our readers on the fate of poets and poetry.

Thirty years have gone by since the time of their fervent youth. How do they recall their relationship to one another, to literature, to life? What have they retained of those yesterdays? They have changed. But how? Did they change or were they changed by the times, by circumstances, by age? Did they try to change the times?

One of them once said: "There are few of us, perhaps four of us." Do they still believe that? Do they see a new foursome in poetry today?

Which of the poets alive at that time influenced them? One wants to know: who helped them, who induced them to write? Which of today's young ones did they help (with their words, with moral support, with the publication of a book or in some other way)? Was it justified, the "matrons'" participation in the creative lives of the debutants?

How does one account for the fact that they betrayed their basic genre and invaded related arts--movies, television, music, song-writing, serious prose? What was this, an urge to try something new? A hobby? Inevitability?

They are surrounded by a different "millennium," but it is also in some ways like the way things were when they were young. Do they feel a surge of new strength, a desire to create? Or has their material been exhausted, and, as the brothers Serapionov said when they met, "it is very hard to write, brother"?

I turned on the dictaphone.

Andrey Voznesenskiy: We were emaciated, but we were afraid of nothing even then.

We were all singing Okudzhava's songs then. He had not yet written his song about the fools, but his songs were considered to be dangerous. Bella Akhmadulina drove a Moskvich, and the porcelain of her presence glowed with music. Ye. Yevtushenko, glittering in the first nylon suit in Moscow, and R. Rozhdestvenskiy



in a ski sweater, collar unrolled, passionately read civic poetry from the stage. I can see not only them, but also Yu. Morits with her passionate, biblical tone, the stumps of her braids standing on end from rage, geologist G. Gorbovskiy, Ye Vinokurov with his Olympic-size briefcase, the slender etcher A. Kushner, and the irradiated soldier V. Sosnora. Psaltery player B. Bokov returned from distant parts. B. Slutskiy had the build and the style of expression of a Roman tribune, and one sensed the legions backing him.

My friendship with them was expressed in poems and articles dedicated to them. There was no openness in our comprehension at that time. An attempt to tell the truth about life and art was branded as slander, and esthetic innovation was received with particular wrath. A line written above the stage at the Theater on the Taganka, "All progress is reactionary if man falls," was perceived by the officials as seditious. Today it is difficult to believe that the poem "A Woman is Beaten" could not be published many years ago. The newspaper abuse of me and my comrades was not benign. They stopped printing our works....

Many lines of poetry made their way with a bloody struggle.

Did we change the times? Of course. We were not thinking about this at that time, though.

Time has dispersed its focuses and has separated us one from another. We see one another once a year. We were different even then, however. Contrary to the stories, we did not appear frequently together. We had different audiences, and each of us lived his own life. The thing we had in common was enemies. Their attacks united us. We had in common the nation's passion, the breath of hope, people who believed in us.

The poets who became known in the '60s produced their best writing perhaps in the '70s and '80s. It described the pain of destroyed illusions. The division of poetry into generations is mechanistic. During those years I wrote about "horizontal" (by age) and "vertical" (by conscience and talent) generations. I quoted the words about the "vertical" generation to provoke N.S. Khrushchev at the ill-fated meeting with the intelligentsia at the Kremlin. He ordered me to the speaker's platform. Disrupting my presentation and raising his fists, he fell upon me, backed by organized abuse from the audience. He had a powerful force behind him, and I could not understand how the good hopes of the '60s, the powerful sweep of the reforms and the obstacles of the old thinking could be combined in one person. When I read my poetry, beating out the time with a raised hand, he yelled; "What are you raising your hand for? What kind of orders are you giving us? Do you think that you're some kind of a leader?" After he had retired, N.S. Khrushchev let me know that he was sorry about the incident and about the harassment which ensued. I told him that I bore no grudge against him. The main thing, after all, was the fact that the people were liberated after '56.

Did the times change us? I'll say! At that time, though, one could only guess as to who would change and in what way. The word "we" has no place here. Each of us has to tell about himself. Everyone remains in my mind like friends of a neighborhood or schoolmates. Like Andrey Tarkovskiy, with whom I attended the

10th grade at School 554 and played kick-the-can in the yard. It is terrible that he is no longer among us. How much more he could have done!

It now seems that more could have been done. The youthful maximalism seems naive, to be sure. I associated with Pasternak for 14 years, idolized him, followed his casket. Naturally, my love for him prevented me from seeing other poets. And then, just who could have stood next to him? I wrote a great deal of poetry as such, considering poetry to be the question and not the answer. I wrote little about politics or public affairs. Poetry is a spiritual microcosm, a spiritual mould. It is sad that I sometimes lacked the strength of character to defend every word and that so many of the lines are crippled. They did not drive me from the path with the clubs, but, unfortunately, they did damage my soul.

It is more painful, said V. Khodasevich, about whom I recently wrote an article for OGONEK, when you:

...learn to keep silent or to joke  
when tragedies are discussed...

Or perhaps this is simply the cynical style of the '80s?

I recently received the joyous news by phone that Grebenshchikov's first recording had been released. I am glad that the article in OGONEK opened up the way for "Aquarium." Many of the poets mentioned in "Agonies of the Muse" and in other articles of mine have justified my hopes. I now want to add to them the names Arabov and Iskrenko. I recommend that OGONEK print their poems.

The other day I was approached by a poet who was once in charge of the poetry section at the Sovetskiy Pisatel Publishing House. He said: "Now everyone is a friend of Vysotskiy. He is being printed everywhere, but when he was alive, you were the only one who brought us the manuscript of his book of poetry and tried to get it published. It is a shame you did not succeed." At that time not just his book, but even a line of his writing could not be printed. A reinforced concrete wall stood in the way. If the book had been published, perhaps he would still be alive.

Vladimir poet N.F. Tarasenko helped me get "Mosaic" published. V. Soloukhin helped get my first poem, "The Masters," published. E. Mezheylaitis signed "The Three-Cornered Pear" to press, knowing what he would get for that but doing it anyway. The selfless Andrey Dementyev took on the responsibility of publishing Yevtushenko's "Northern Increment." He printed some things of importance to me, including the poem "The Ditch."

Irrespective of age, people of the "vertical" generation help me. And I do what I can to help people of the "vertical" generation. All my life, wherever I could, I have written about Pasternak. I was the first to succeed in publishing his poem "Hamlet" from "Doctor Zhivago." It was hard to imagine that millions of my peers did not know his name, and I wanted to move Pasternak's poetry a little closer to them. Help for the lake, the architectural masterpiece, the publication of the masters about whom silence has reigned for years, concern for Chagall's legacy--all of this, I believe, is also promoting a climate of creativity among

the youth. The proposal I made at the writers' congress with respect to cooperative publication is now gaining support. As a fresh beginning perhaps it will help the youth.

We publish 84,000 different titles each year. A few of the books of Nabokov, Khodasevich and Gumilev would provide a complete picture of 20th century Soviet literature. Our contemporaries have the right to read everything. What kind of common human depth can literature have without philosophical thought? Philosophy should not be studied at the level of a calendar. Forgotten are such offshoots of Russian thought as Shestov's agonizing reflections on Dostoyevskiy, Rozanov's "Biologics" and the works of V. Solovyev, Florenskiy and Chizhevskiy. It would be useful to publish them in academic editions, at least for those educated in or studying philosophy. In order to debate, one must know the source.

At the architectural institute I professionally studied drawing, painting, design, the strength of materials, and the history of art. For me poetry is not a hobby or a profession; it is my destiny. When I wrote my first poem on the execution of those who built the temple of Basil the Blessed, Zholtovskiy had told me that this masterpiece was almost blown up in the '30s. I also knew the fate of scholar-and-restorer Baranovskiy. It was therefore not just a poem about the history of architecture, about the fate of a people, but also about my fate. One needs to be a Renaissance man, to open up an era of spiritual synthesis in various fields. I try to find something new, something unique, in self-lithographs, the architectural design of the Poetarkh, in rock opera.

Thank you, '60s, for the spiritual uplift, for the fact that you liberated and rehabilitated people. That is the main thing. The film "Repentance" could not only not be released at that time, however; it could not even be made. Were the recent stinging articles in MOSKOVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI possible at that time? All of the things making up our renaissance in the press lay mutely in desk drawers at that time. And would a confessional writers' conference really have been possible then? It would be naive to believe that everything has been resolved. There is continuous struggle underway against a still very powerful, reactionary segment of our society.

The main thing is not external freedom, however, but freedom within the individual. For the artist this means freedom to express oneself and the times in one's own way as neither Tolstoy nor Blok did. As the philosophers used to say, "The secret of the world is concealed in freedom." Poetry deals with common human values. Poetry is first of all the individual's inner world. Humaneness is its main element.

Last fall I declined some interesting trips abroad. There was a lot to do at home. Help could be provided in many ways. Stagnation is being overcome--and in a wholesome way which produces results. Politically it is called democratization. Action is also poetry. There is fear in the eyes, but the hands are at work....

Poetry is not born with predictability. It cannot be organized. In the 20th century the crests of creative spiritual waves have come every 20 years: in the '20s, the fateful '40s, the '60s, the '80s.

One of my current concerns is the commission on the Pasternak legacy. We are attempting to establish a museum at his dacha in Peredelkino. "It is difficult, brother, but necessary," to restore the good name of the great poet, to remove from it the stigma of one expelled from the Writers' Union. Pasternak readings could be held at Peredelkino, both our own and international readings. We need to publish all of his works, including the poetic novel "Doctor Zhivago." We need all of this, first of all, not just in order to restore historical justice but in order to create a climate for our contemporary art, to create new works in the sincere "Hamburg reckoning," as V. Shklovskiy described it, in order to make it easier for the new "pale youth with fire in his eyes."

What poems of the '60s would I write today? At the evening readings I am asked to read "Pornography of the Soul" and "The Queue." And today I would repeat: "All progress is reactionary if man falls."

Yevgeniy Yevtushenko: I began as a lone wolf-cub.

In my childhood and early youth I had no peers who could write on a level with me. I was always drawn to older people--to my father, who taught me to love poetry, and then to Nikolay Tarasov, who published my writings for the first time in SOVETSKIY SPORT on 2 June 1945, and I received my first fee for my metrics. To critic V. Barlas and to Lev Filatov, who subsequently became the brilliant soccer commentator. They exposed me to Pasternak, Mandelshtam, Akhmatova, B. Kornilov and P. Vasilyev. Naturally, I emulated the adults and tried to appear older in my poetry. At the age of 14 I wrote the following: [poem omitted]

Poet Andrey Dostal, who was literary adviser at the MOLODAYA GVARDIYA to which I sent the poem, summoned me in a letter and was absolutely amazed when he saw the lanky kid with the school boy's bookbag.

"Lad, why didn't your dad come for his poems himself"?

I turned crimson:

"They're not my dad's; they're mine...."

My own life was not interesting to me, and I invented a grown-up's life for myself. My peers also bored me. I built up my poetic muscles by working with rhymes as though lifting weights. I attended all of the poetry readings and "indulged" all my impressions--from Kirsanov to Lukonin. I became friends with Vinokurov, Mezhirov and Slutskiy. And with Vladimir Sokolov. He was also older than I, but not much. He was the youngest of all my older friends. Sokolov was the first to voice the confession of a generation which saw the war with the eyes of children: "We completed the fourth grade during the lull before the storm; from the fifth grade we moved on to war." I believe that he was potentially more talented than all the rest of us, and we all accepted this unquestioningly. This "we" began to develop gradually. My first peer with whom I considered it dignified to be friends was Fazil Iskander. He lived apart, to be sure, as he does today, but he was always considered in our generation. Sokolov, Rozhdestvenskiy, Volodya Morozov, who died before his time, and I made up the backbone of our "mighty group," which formed around the Moscow Literary Institute imeni M. Gorkiy in 1952. We read our own poetry and that of others



to one another and gave joint presentations. All of us except Sokolov still wrote poorly. Afraid of a comrade's harsh opinion, however, we worked hard to improve, and we competed. What a great feeling, fear of a comrade's opinion! How much one benefits from this fear, and how many maladies--most of all, egotism--it cures one of! I, who had already been widely published in the newspapers, came to the Literary Institute and found myself under a hail of highly curative, good-natured teasing. I gradually began to be cured of the newspaper orientation in emulation of Kiisanov, who was no better. "Before the Meeting" (written under Sokolov's influence), "The Railcar" and "The Sea" were the turning points in my poetry. I understood that my own life and the life of those around me were far more interesting than any pretentious fantasies. The author of all these poetic turning points, and then "The Weddings" and "This is What is Happening With Me," which were what turned me from a writer of poetry into a poet, was not so much myself as it was the demandingly cultivating milieu. I say without idealized exaggeration that we were forged not by an unprincipled "herd" instinct but primarily by a love for poetry combined with a love for one another.

There was in our midst none of the envy, none of the intriguing, none of the pushing and shoving which, unfortunately, are typical of a number of beginners today. Stalin's death united us even more, because we cried together, but together we also fell into tormented thought when the curtain hanging over the past gradually opened and brought us face to face with so many human tragedies. We had known some of it before, but under the hypnosis of indoctrination we had been unable to comprehend developments in their totality. One of our instructors, the poet A. Kovalenkov, was arrested the day Stalin died. Stunned, Sokolov and I discussed the matter, and in accordance with the law of our upbringing we tried to find features of the "enemy" in him. We recalled first one and then another of his statements, which now, following his arrest, began to sound suspicious. And then Volodya abruptly said to me:

"We're real scoundrels.... We should be going to see his wife... to share her grief."

That is just what we did. Kovalenkov was released a few months later. Life was changing. The hypnosis was gradually wearing off. The student body of the first post-Stalin year was completely different from us--freer and more radical, but wonderfully talented: Bella Akhmadulina, Yuriy Kazakov, Mikhail Roshchin, Yunna Morits. The word "we" began to expand. Surkov, then secretary of the Writers' Union, visited the Literary Institute. Running down the first herald of the anti-bureaucratism, Dudintsev's novel, he pointed during his talk at the freshly whitewashed institute walls and yelled: "You see the spot on this wall. If I press my nose against the spot like Dudintsev, the whole wall will look dirty to me...." The still very youthful Roshchin calmly took exception, and we all applauded: "Yes, but if you move too far away, you will not be able to see the spot at all...." Surkov departed, grumbling threateningly that the Literary Institute was a breeding ground for nihilism.... We were not nihilists, though. We were filled with the belief that life had to be restructured, that we could not go on living and writing in this way. The Literary Institute at that time was in fact a breeding ground, but not of nihilism. It was a breeding ground of openness and democracy, of the future restructuring. We were not patted on the

back for this. I was expelled from the Literary Institute with the official explanation "failure to attend lectures." In fact, however, it was because I had defended Dudintsev. Akhmadulina and Morits were also expelled--temporarily, to be sure, and only because on "Open Up Your Soul Day" they had opened up their souls too much. We still hung together, even though they did what they could to break us up and even though we sometimes argued with one another in earnest. But what marvelous arguments they were! There was nothing petty or internecine in them. These were arguments, but not about trifling matters. They were about important, basic issues: about the history of the revolution, the nation, the role of art. In many ways we were naive and uneducated, we sometimes lacked the subtleties of taste, and our thinking was sometimes simplistic. We could not be accused of dependency, however, of social indifference, passivity or consumer "pseudo-incandescence." Had anyone in our group told a crude anecdote about Chapayev or Petka, he would have been asking for a slap in the face. There were mediocrities at the Literary Institute, however, who gloomily envied those who were attempting to advance the times and art. The final split came during the "Pasternak affair," when a number of students using the threat of expulsion from the Komsomol and the Institute for blackmail, demanded signatures on a letter which stated that Pasternak should be thrown out like a pig from our Soviet garden. Some former "progressionists" broke and signed (even obtaining permission from Boris Leonidovich himself). They then deteriorated as poets. Their names, which had once resounded in the student audiences, are remembered by no one today.

In his futurist manifesto Mayakovskiy once likened the word "we" to a mound on which he and his comrades-in-arms stood amidst the hissing and indignation. Our "we" was also such a mound, and many slid off of that mound. New comrades-in-arms climbed it, however. Voznesenskiy appeared. Unlike many of us, he burst into poetry all of a sudden, with the lighting-like flash of fireworks. Bulat Okudzhava also belongs to this "we." Although he was older than we and had even experienced battle, he began to be heard as a poet at the same time. Sasha Aronov and Nina Belosinskaya from the remarkable Magistral literary association once sang me one of Okudzhava's first songs, and I was astounded at how the romantic purity of those artless but at the same time subtle and intelligent songs conformed to our hopes. What did the poets of the '60s add to our life? One thing was a sharply anti-cult orientation. It was shared by all of us, despite differences of personalities. A second was a "lifting of taboos" on all those subjects on which written or unwritten taboos had been placed. A third thing was an aversion to the "drumroll" patriotism and national narrow-mindedness. A fourth was a new poetic language, which contained a fresh assonance, a search for rhythms, metaphors and intonations, and the fearless use of contemporary turns of speech, sometimes even slang--so-called "unpoetic" words. A fifth thing was the expansion of the poetic auditorium to areas which forced even those who had not previously read poetry aloud to do so. A sixth thing was the triumphant emergence of Russian poetry onto the international scene.

The Russian poetry of our era is not limited to the names mentioned, of course. It cannot be imagined without the prematurely deceased Rubtsov and without many others. What is characteristic, however, is the fact that Rubtsov's first poems in Moscow were printed in YUNOST with my help, and he and I had the most friendly relations. Following his death, however, certain critics unethically began pitting him and me against each other. A number of critics arrogantly failed to

list the names of Voznesenskiy, Akhmadulina, Akudzhava and Rozhdestvenskiy among the leading poets, while long columns of other names were compared with them. A false group theory of "quiet" poetry (that is, what was called real poetry) and "theatrical" poetry (that is, pseudo-poetry) was invented. Vladimir Sokolov, pronounced the leader of "quiet poetry," set an example of professional ethics when he condemned such contrasting.

There was an unprecedented increase in interest in poetry, which had fallen during the years of triumph of glossing-over trends. Books of poetry, which had previously remained unsold on the shelves, began to be snapped up instantaneously. They even became an object of speculation on the book "black market." Editions of 5,000 or 10,000 copies increased to 100,000 or more. The Molodaya Gvardiya Publishing House decided for the first time in our publishing history to print small and inexpensive books of poetry on the basis of advance orders from the stores. If my memory is correct, there were something on the order of 400,000 orders for Rimma Kazakova. When it came to the names of Voznesenskiy, Akhmadulina, Okudzhava and the author of these lines, however, the publishing house was at a loss when it received orders for a million or two million copies. It could think of nothing better to do than to halt the series, since these were the poets who were constantly attacked by the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA of that time for "poetic elitism," "vulgar showmanship" and even "indelible marks of betrayal."

The tastes of the youth ran counter to the tastes of these critics, however, and our readers loyally supported us with their love at the most difficult times. Our generation's irrepressible activeness and its interference in all painful issues were irritating, and at times this irritation touched even the very highest level. They yelled at Voznesenskiy: "Take your passport and beat it, Mister Voznesenskiy!" It is not true that we were "permitted" too much. We were not "cradling" our rights; we scratched and clawed for them, sometimes until our fingers bled.

Our popularity irritated also many of our fellow writers. At a Leningrad conference one poet stated with vitriolic sarcasm: "Yevtushenko complains in his poems that 'borders hamper him,' you see.... Let's send him abroad. Let Dunka go to Europe"! Well, thanks for the suggestion. Since then "Dunka" has visited 85 nations of the world, and I can say with hand on heart that I have carried the banner of our Russian poetry with honor. When Robert Rozhdestvenskiy wrote the poem "Yes, Boys....," which supported the right of the youth to independence, Nikolay Gribachev immediately responded with the poem "No, Boys." It would be incorrect to say that we received support only among the readers and not among the professionals, however. We would not have survived without the support of professionals. Stepan Petrovich Shchipachev did a great thing for our generation and for the development of poetry in general by making the magazine OKTVABR available to us. When I was sent abroad as "morally unstable," Stepan Petrovich went to the highest level and told them that he would vouch for me with his party card, issued to him during the civil war. Shchipachev organized a presidium of a Moscow writers' organization, half of which was made up of young people, including me and Voznesenskiy. Our presidium existed only a few months, however. It was undemocratically broken up. We received verbal support and help in getting our writing printed from P. Antokolskiy, K. Simonov, M. Lukonin, B. Slutskiy, A. Mezhirov, M. Lvov and Ye. Vinokurov. How much wear and tear on the



nerves of Ya. Smelyakov, appointed editor of my poem "Bratsk Station" with the crafty purpose of forcing me to make concessions, was involved in getting my much-suffering creation out! A total of 384 (!) changes were made in the poem, but it still did not fall apart, did not tilt toward glossing-over. V. Kosolapov made a courageous decision when he published "Babiy Yar" in LITGAZETA. Despite Tvardovskiy's envious and picky, sometimes excruciatingly rigid attitude toward poetry, which at times reached the point of purism, he constantly printed my writing even during the most difficult times. During one of my periods of deepest disfavor, Ye. Popovkin, despite the fact that his positions were very different from my own, unexpectedly offered to publish my poems in the magazine MOSKVA, which he did (incidentally, he is the one who printed the novel "Master and Margarita," which was rejected by Tvardovskiy). Yu. Melentyev and V. Osipov, who headed the Molodaya Gvardiya Publishing House, printed me, Voznesenskiy and Rozhdestvenskiy, which was certainly not easy for them.

Our generation also received support from many workers in the CPSU Central Committee at that time.

Georgia's love provided traditional support for Russian poetry at its difficult moments. The very existence of the Sovremennik Theater, the Theater on the Taganka and the Pleiade of young painters and sculptors who shared our quest for the truth and methods of expression it was also a great support. Things were made easier and more hopeful by the appearance of such figures as Shukshin and Vysotskiy, and by the moral civic spirit of older ones such as M. Romm, K. Paustovskiy, K. Chukovskiy and A. Yashin. Voznesenskiy and I had the good fortune to be able to visit with Pasternak not long before his death. While our first audience was made up mainly of students, we began to feel the support also of serious scholars, cosmonauts, and the working class. We gradually stopped being the spokesmen just for our own generation, and new generations of students and people far older than we came to believe in us and became our readers.

The openness which is becoming the norm in our life was not served to us on a silver platter from some "uppercrust." We achieved this openness through suffering. The democratization of poetry began before the democratization of life in general and was an inseparable part of the latter.

In many foreign countries public life and poetry exist without contact, as it were. I once wrote that "the poet in Russia is more than a poet." And this is true, because in no other nation has poetry had such a powerful public effect as in our nation, beginning with Pushkin. Poetry not only reflects our life; it spiritually predetermines it in great part.

I am sometimes amazed at the social indifference of certain young poets. Again, it is we "'60s people," and not they, who write about the most urgent matters having to do with the struggle against the sabotaging of the restructuring today, with the struggle for democratization. The thesis that "everything in the world is just a means to sweet-sounding poetry" has not survived. The attempt to substitute Fet for Pushkin on the banner of our poetry has also failed. Despite all his skill, Fet lacked the all-embracing civic temperament. And without this temperament, without the capacity "to respond to everything" (Dostoyevskiy's expression), there can be no true national poet. Nor can there be a truly national poet today without internationalism, without being a part of all the sore spots on the planet.



Statement-of-fact poetry will never be above the poetry of protest against injustice, the poetry of struggle to establish fraternity of people. When certain poets today complain about a reduction in the number of copies of their books published and place the blame on the book trade, they are only partially right. Was there any special promotion for the poetry of our generation, which it is next to impossible to find on the shelves today? The only advertising we received in our early youth was abuse. For many years Okudzhava's songs were only heard in home recordings. A large, single-volume edition of Akhmadulina has still been published only in Georgia. Vysotskiy never held his book in his hand in his lifetime. And Shukshin was never able to film "Stepan Razin."

The critics once wrote that interest in our poetry was a fad, that it would soon pass. But Slutskiy was right when he said that if a fad does not pass within a period of several years, it is perhaps not a fad but love. And the right to love has to be earned. Some poets want a life of comfort. They do not want to struggle for anything (with the exception of themselves), never put their head on the line for the cause of justice and never show any sort of civic boldness, but are then amazed and angry when their books do not sell out. It became natural in Russ for our people to regard the poet as a defender of the people. Why should people be interested in those who are not interested in them? Yessenin wrote brilliantly about birch trees. But when the contemporary writers of rhymes reduce the homeland theme to sighs about birch trees, this is civic escapism from the problems of the real homeland, and not a tinselled, fairytale homeland. I am not idealizing our generation of poets. We all wrote and, unfortunately, still write poor poetry--hurridly, with lapses of taste--and sometimes even poetry of which we are later ashamed. It is then too late, however: once written it cannot be excised with an ax. We not only took bold actions; we also made compromises. We sometimes remained silent, and that too is a compromise. Each of us did his best to make up for the moments of weakness, however, with new charges against the fortress of sluggishness and social stagnation.

We developed spiritually and professionally during a period of social cataclysm, when openings were forming in the walls of that fortress. We breached the fortress and continued to wage our war, sometimes cut off one from another, hearing the shots of our comrades in the distance. The breaches were expertly sealed over, cutting us off from the young poets. A moat was built around the fortress to prevent the next generation from breaking through to help us. We became dead-tired; our bullets and our strength were running out. Foreign helicopters began circling over our heads, invitingly dropping rope ladders to swing temptingly above us. Only the weak clambered up them, however, exchanging the struggle for freedom in their homeland for Radio Liberty. We did not give up, though. We believed that the day would come when our hopes would become reality. No, we did not in vain swallow our words in the debates and on the stage, which was to us the battlefield of the times. Those people who once listened to our poetry as students, who sneaked into the auditoriums without tickets, are taking over the management of many areas of our life. Our poetry and our hopes became a part of the psychology of this new formation. We grew up and developed together with them, helped them as we could with our poetry in order that our nation might set out on the path of openness without which economic restructuring is inconceivable. This new formation is a generation not tarnished by the tragedies of the past. Their biography makes it possible for them to think in a new way, freed of the guilt complex. We are older, of course, but we still have a great deal to say and a lot

to do. We must struggle for the hopes of our youth and help to educate those who will replace us. We have changed, of course, but we have not betrayed our youth. We joyously see many of our hopes being realized in decisions of the 27th party congress and in the course being implemented today.

We sometimes fell out--even for long periods of time, unfortunately. At the congress of writers, however, we once again moved forth shoulder to shoulder as we once had. And this was not by agreement; it was natural, just as the development of history is today. And now, for the first time in many, many years, we have gathered together at Peredelkino and seen a video tape of a miraculously surviving episode clipped at some time from the Khutsiyevskiy film "Ilich's Outpost," where we were reading poetry at the Polytechnic in 1962. I watched these shots, and I really felt like crying....

I once wrote the following: "Being with an old comrade is like returning to the homeland." I have that feeling today.

Bulat Okudzhava: We were united and moved forward by the times.

Those were the years when social self-awareness began to awaken suddenly and turbulently, when hopes were born and the need for spiritual intercourse arose. We tried to speak to the people not in the language which had dominated those long years, but in the language which lay concealed in them. These attempts were crowned with some success. It turned out that our candid dialog was mutually important.

It is laughable and embarrassing to speak of my first little book. It was a very poor book, written by a person suffering from the self-sufficiency of Kaluga provincialism. Luckily I took a beating from my colleagues in Moscow. This sobered me and forced me to think seriously about many things.

Pushkin, Kipling and Pasternak were my teachers. With respect to those who "helped me become somebody" in the practical sense, I have to put in a good word for Antokolskiy, Narovchatov, Yevtushenko, Grigoriy Levin and Mikhail Lvov.

I am a professional man of letters today. I try to tell about myself with prose, poetry and music.

I believe that "the present times" are a continuation of "those times," and in this sense I pass on all of my unutilized stock of energy to the latter with joy and hope.

Robert Rozhdestvenskiy: All of us were extremely lucky.

Our literary youth coincided with the 20th CPSU Congress. It coincided with a general awakening of the nation, of the people, and it coincided with an unexpected and painful rethinking of the past, with the return of the rehabilitated, with a shift in debate, doubts, hopes and... questions, questions, questions!

As we asked these questions and tried to answer them, we searched for ourselves, matured, learned to live, learned to love and to hate, learned to think....

I met Yevgeniy Yevtushenko at the Literary Institute. So I have known him since (I don't even like to think about it), since way back in 1951!

I met Bulat Okudzhava and Andrey Voznesenskiy later, in the year '55.

How did we regard one another then?

Normally, I believe. With great interest and respect. But, naturally, not without a certain amount of "adolescent," almost childish, rivalry. (When I recall it all today, it seems silly even to me: Good Lord, how young we were then!)

We met frequently, appeared together at poetry readings, visited one another's homes, conversed, argued and read poetry.

I recall the evening when for the first time Bulat sang two of his songs....

For a long time we were remembered together, reviled together and praised together. When I recall the year '63, however, there was perhaps more revilement than praise.

We were also called young for a very long time--up to the age of 45. We did not take offense, however. It would have been foolish to be offended by this.

Each one had his difficulties, his successes and his failures, his discoveries and losses. We lived and worked, but it sometimes seemed to me that we were constantly bothering someone a great deal. And it was not clear just how. Probably by the very fact of our existence.

In any case, throughout that 30 years some of our colleagues in the Writers' Union would regularly state or write (but always with inexpressible joy!) that we had finally "come to the end," thank God, "left the stage," "were used up," and so forth. And each time, they would hastily seek replacements and publish "lists of more deserving young poets."

Six months (or a year) would go by, however, and those same colleagues would for some reason feel the need to speak out again and furiously attempt to prove, to convince themselves, that we had now "come to the end for sure," "passed on," "disappeared from the poetry horizon..."!

And so, we "came to the end" many times. And you would now see no more "creative obituaries" of ours. We got used to this.

We are still at it, however. Each according to his abilities. And we shall continue as long as our 1<sup>st</sup> : continue.

Have we changed in the 30 years?

Of course we have. It could not have been otherwise!

What is left in us from the people of those times?

A great deal, I believe. The core of our character has certainly remained. It develops in the individual long before he reaches the age of 20, after all. We still have our memory of our wartime childhood. We still have the sensation of a beginning and the hope that some important lines, our important poems, are still to come.

We still have a sincere respect for literature (it has even grown).

Did I try "to change the times"?

Well, one must have a truly giant ego to take on a task such as this!

Just imagine a poet sitting at his desk and thinking in all seriousness: "What if I change the times?!"

One can and must struggle against certain harmful and false trends of a specific time, however. Always. Under all circumstances. Even when it seems that "I cannot."

The line "There are few of us, perhaps four of us...." I remembered at once. And I was probably not alone. In my opinion, however, Andrey Voznesenskiy was playing games: without naming anyone but himself, he was extending the speculative right to other poets to "struggle" to gain entry into the foursome, as it were.

Seriously speaking, though, all talk about "threesomes," "foursomes" and "fivesomes" is more applicable to ice hockey than to poetry.

The most important thing is that we were never a "group" in the current literary (or semi-literary) sense of the word. And we therefore never engaged in what such groups engage in today--that is, we never attempted "to take over" a newspaper, a magazine or a publishing house in order to enrich "our own" and to come down upon "others."

We did not have the time for this kind of "active creative life." Nor did we have the desire....

Unfortunately, I cannot name truly young (23 to 25 years of age) important poets today. Perhaps they exist, but I do not yet know them.

We entered into a literature, into a poetry, in which Tvardovskiy and Smelyakov, Zabolotskiy and Martynov, Antokolskiy and Svetlov, Lugovskoy and Selvinskiy, Simonov and Kukonin, Samed Vurgun and Nazym Khikmet were still working away. I have mentioned those whom I met repeatedly, talked with, appeared together with and traveled about the nation with, with some of whom I had the good fortune to be friends.

They all helped me to one extent or another. They helped if only by being! And my memory of my meetings with them, their advice, their principles and their poetry are helping me still.



We were joined in literature 30 years ago by such poets as Boris Slutskiy, Vladimir Sokolov, Bella Akhmadulina and Oleg Chukhontsev. Without them, our memories of the times and our present would also be empty.

Then there are our contemporaries in the republics: in the Ukraine, in Latvia, Lithuania, Belorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan. We became friends with them 25 years ago, and that friendship continues today. Does it help us? Of course it does....

It is natural to help others. But I do not believe it is mandatory to speak of this or even remember it.

I "invaded" related genres because this was interesting. Furthermore, I was always very serious about what I did (articles, songs or the "documentary screen"). In any case, this part of my work was in no way a "respite from poetry" for me.

The times today are developing into something real, interesting and vital. The times which are unfolding today are far from boring!

To be only a witness to what is occurring, to live by the principle "well, let's wait and see what comes of it for them..." is to betray one's youth.

One must participate in the restructuring!

This is how we shall live.

[Feliks Medvedev] To a passionate lover of poetry like myself it seems insufferable not to ask: "Why was Bella Akhmadulina not invited to such an important discussion?" Unfortunately, Bella Akhmatovna was unable to come to Peredelkino that day to take part in the general discussion. I met with her somewhat later. This is what she had to say....

Bella Akhmadulina: The times do not have the habit of staying on the sideline.

They, these 30 years, also did not pass me by. In any case, at least, I was not on the sideline. They moved over me, those 30 years. It would have been strange for me not to change. No one touched by those times succeeded in remaining the same. In accordance with my own rules, however, I have the authority to answer for and discuss only myself, because I believe that I changed, changed greatly, but my good wishes for my colleagues have not changed. Probably everyone of us, then and now, would defend the right to artistic individuality and has absolutely no intention of sticking with that inseparable unity of names present in today's discussion. This or that individuality was no doubt visible even then, but each individual became established only to the extent of his development.

I recall my own youth without being overly ecstatic and without any sort of delusions. I cannot be enthralled with it. I have changed, of course. What is left of the former me? What was good, I believe, and within the limits within which it was given to me. I could not have passed it by, because there is something primordial which destiny and character somehow follow. That young image of mine is not too alluring to me, however. I also managed to endure my intellectual development, and I recall my state of mind as unsatisfactory--that is,

one which was always frisky, always very passionate and open to inspiration. I wrote a great deal, never noticing the time of day. Strictly speaking, however, this to some degree took time away from my education. I was aware of my own ignorance, my own inadequate knowledge (I can still not call it adequate), but there were many things which it did not enable me to read at that time.

My concept of recent Soviet history was something superficial and vague. Today, I regard it with greater seriousness and feel a sense of great responsibility in connection with it. But how important precisely those years were! They changed so much in the life of the society, and this was reflected in the success of public poetry readings, because people seemed to be expecting from the poets a quick answer to the questions on their minds. I myself was not yet able to answer many of the questions occupying our listening and reading public at that time. I do not know how far I have come in this respect even today, but over the years I have had to avoid the vanity of overly sensational appearances, and I have a perfectly unaffected and firm attitude toward them today.

Incidentally, the great Russian poets Anna Andreyevna Akhmatova and Boris Leonidovich Pasternak were alive when we began, and I would not be offended at all if someone were to say to me: You know, it was not your appearances at all which influenced me, but the presence of those names in literature. Yes, one of us did say "There are few of us, perhaps four of us..." but another one of us said "I ask you to set a table for five at Revolution Square at half past five...."

Yes, many were beginning when we began.... Some of them were simply not so well known for various reasons. Our peer Aleksandr Kushner, for example, who lived a different life, a more closed, a quieter and generally unnoticed life... that. I mention this to point out that the Polytechnic and Luzhniki are not the only route for a poet.

Who influenced me? My regard for Akhmatova and Pasternak can only be called adoration. Adoration is not the happiest way of viewing someone you love, because it is deliberately doomed to a certain independence. If only because the force of my feeling absolutely prevented me from trying to meet them. On the contrary, I avoided them terribly. I did see them, of course, but not because I strove to; fate simply brought it about. Simply coexisting with them in the world affected me greatly. There were also influences of a different kind, however. Take Yaroslav Smelyakov, for example. I met him in '56 while still quite young, and that meeting had to affect me greatly. Incidentally, he was the first for me, the first of those who returned from unjust imprisonment. I began my literary life early, you see, and immediately fell in with people older than I. Incidentally, all of the poets you have mentioned were older than I, if only slightly, and although the age difference was insignificant, they unquestionably influenced with their work, with their nearby presence. Then Smelyakov came back. And my paltry experience, quite small and quite happy, was still able to take in the totally unknown experience. How could I correlate my own cozy life, still not a long one, with that which was occurring in the wide world. People began to help me right away. I entered into literary association with Yevgeniy Vinokurov even prior to the Literary Institute. He took a vital interest in me. He gave me a great deal. He was amazed at my terrible ignorance about literature

and art. He was sincerely amazed at the intellectual darkness which was combined in me with certain lucid eruptions of the soul. He typed my poetry himself and passed it on to Shchipachev. I have recalled Stepan Petrovich's gentleness and kindness more than once. In the first place, I lived at the time in an enormous communal apartment. My parents did not encourage my literary pursuits, and Stepan Petrovich began to telephone them. This absolutely amazed my parents. He began to call and ask to see me, but out of pride of youth, which was only a cover for constraint and awkwardness, I declined to meet with him. He still found a way to see me, however, and he printed my poetry. I soon received a letter from Ilya Selvinskiy, which predetermined my easy entry into the Literary Institute. My poems were completely childish, after all.

My life later brought me into contact with many writers active in literature, and I communicated with them. It would be difficult to name a literary figure with whom I did not come into contact. Many of them showed me a certain gentleness and kindness, and I have retained something from each. It was more than teaching; it was spiritually stimulating life. I received a sort of literary and humane schooling.

Today we have every basis for sensing a change of the times, and I would like to relate this in some sense to myself, to those colleagues of mine who began together with me. Let us hope that this change in the times will have a beneficial effect with respect to bringing out new names in literature. Any change of this kind encourages the appearance of new names not just in art, but in various areas of human endeavor in general. In any case, I sincerely hope so.

But the surge of energy never comes to me except when I am concentrating and wrapped up in my work.

[Feliks Medvedev] The poem mentioned by B. Akhmadulina ends with the words: "And our thoughts were pure at Revolution Square at half past six." How amazingly sincerely and penetratingly these words correspond to the good leaps into the future of the young poetry of that day! The establishment of oneself in life and in art, the civic repletion of the thoughts and intentions, the amazingly wide-open excitement at everything occurring around one.... And at the same time an almost youthful maximalism of principles and assessments of what was occurring, a "Mayakovskiy" overturning of certain authorities, and faith in one another. And it is unimportant in the final analysis whether there were four, five (Bulat Okudzhava probably had even more in mind when he exclaimed: "Let's take one another's hand, friends; truly, let's take one another's hand"). Something else is important, and this was mentioned at Peredelkino by almost all of them. They did not become a "herd," a group. They were all different. All of them had their own paths to travel in life and in literature. Fate was no doubt kinder to some of them, less so to others. What is important is that their path in poetry has been clear, noticeable and fruitful. They have accomplished their purpose. The poet Vadim Shefner put it very well: "...No one thought that the group of young poets would take its place in our poetry so rapidly and purposefully and would not just establish itself there, but would alter the arrangement of the poetic forces. These poets were helped by the times, of course. But then they also helped the times. One can think what he wishes of their poetry; this is a matter of taste. One cannot deny the fact, however, that the young poets served as a sort of fermentative element, that they generally raised the readers' interest in poetry. And the

general reader can now see more clearly who is worth what and who stands for what." I would mention also Ye. Yevtushenko's line, uttered only today it seems: "Mediocrity is unnatural, just as a lie is unnatural."

Take away from them what you will, but they will still have what is probably the most important--their talent. These are times for people of talent, of initiative and energy. No matter what area of life they are in. Without them there will be no advance; without them the restructuring is inconceivable.

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## POLISH-SOVIET CULTURAL COOPERATION COMMISSION MEETS

PM290831 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 26 May 87 p 7

[V. Volkov report: "Session Held"]

[Text] Warsaw--The first session of the Intergovernmental Commission for Cultural and Scientific Cooperation between the USSR and Poland has ended in Warsaw. The Soviet side of the commission was headed by USSR Minister of Culture V.G. Zakharov, and the Polish side by Polish Minister of Culture and Art A. Krawczuk.

The participants in the session, the protocol adopted at the end of its work stresses, unanimously noted the great importance of the Soviet-Polish Declaration on Cooperation in Ideology, Science, and Culture signed by M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski in Moscow.

The sides emphasized the importance of the measures being implemented in the USSR and Poland in connection with preparations for celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October, an outstanding event in the history of all progressive mankind.

The participants in the session devoted particular attention to the deepening of the ideological, artistic, and political substance of events and exchanges in the cultural sphere, work with creative young people, cooperation between sister cities and oblasts in the USSR and Poland, and joint measures to strengthen the material and technical base of culture.

V.G. Zakharov was received by A. Wasilewski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. He met with Warsaw's creative intelligentsia.

The session of the intergovernmental commission and the protocol signed on its results are the first tangible implementation of the provisions of the Soviet-Polish declaration, A. Krawczuk told a TASS correspondent. The commission has been set a specific task: To elaborate a program for close cooperation between the USSR and Poland in all spheres of culture. The results of its work were extremely fruitful.

During the session, V.G. Zakharov noted, the USSR and Poland reached accord on specific steps to improve cultural exchanges. Everything that hinders the deepening of cooperation was brought to light, and measures were planned to eliminate all obstacles. The commission strives to ensure the broadest possible familiarization of the USSR and Polish peoples in all spheres of culture and art, and to involve increasingly broad strata of society in cultural exchanges for the sake of bringing the peoples even closer together.

## EMIGRES' CONTRIBUTION TO WASHINGTON WRITERS FORUM CRITICIZED

PM171637 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 May 87 p 9

[TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev report for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA under the rubric "Washington Calling:" "Meeting in the Library of Congress"]

[Text] THE WASHINGTON POST described this conference as a "meeting of the literary elite." And indeed, among the 50 participants who had gathered in the new U.S. Library of Congress there were writers who are known far beyond their national borders: John Updike, Mario Vargas Llosa, Octavio Paz... According to the official press release, they had come to Washington in order to "break down the barriers of cultural chauvinism and to increase interest in the literature of both big and small countries." The publishing magnate Lord Weidenfeld, who organized the conference together with Ann Getty, wife of the heir to one of the biggest oil-based fortunes in the United States, described the conference's tasks as follows: "Serving the cause of gaining an understanding of the most complex trends and events in any part of the world of any significance from the viewpoint of literature."

The "highlight" of the conference was the second day when the question (I cite the official program) "of Russian and Soviet and non-Soviet and non-Russian literature" was discussed in the Mumford Room. It emerged that what was described as "non-Russian" and "non-Soviet" literature was either anti-Soviet literature or works which had been written abroad by former Soviet citizens who had left their motherland.

Naturally, the main theme of the discussion was the profound democratic transformations which are taking place in our society and their impact on the literary process. Six people took part in the discussion. The Soviet Union was represented by prose writer Andrey Bitov and poet Oleg Chukhontsev, the others, according to the program, were representing "Russia." What is not quite clear about Russia is the fact that they included a Lithuanian. It would have been logical to expect that the organizers of the conference would have asked the Soviet guests to present an overview of the latest literary developments in the USSR in view of their first-hand knowledge. However, it was Ye. Etkind, who has lived in the West since the mid-seventies and who arrived directly from Paris, who was asked to deliver this report.

His speech left a bad taste. On the one hand he assessed positively the changes which are currently taking place in the Soviet Union. On the other hand the report reflected his overt enmity and hostility toward his former motherland and a desire to slander Soviet reality and distort the meaning of the restructuring which is underway.

Solzhenitsyn's translator, Michael Scammel, who chaired the discussion, described the presence at the same table of writers "writing over there and over here" as a "historic occasion" which allegedly proved that "a great deal of valuable literature has been created" in the West. Ye. Etkind also pressed this point in a verbose discourse about the "clearly emerging unity of the literary process regardless of which side of the wall the authors are living on."

The true worth of these pompous declarations about "unity" and "common aims" became obvious when the West German critic Fritz Raddatz asked the writers from "Russia" whether they intended to return to their motherland where such extensive transformations are currently taking place. "Never," replied A. Sinyavskiy. "There can be no question of returning to a country with closed borders," Ye. Etkind said. Yosif Brodskiy tried to raise the bid by declaring that "he would consider an invitation" to return only on condition that his own works and the works of his emigre colleagues would be published and receive "wide distribution" in the USSR.

The Soviet writers did not join in the useless and, I would say, inappropriate polemics. Instead, they spoke in detail and frankly about the transformations that are taking place in our country, about the role played by the creative intelligentsia in the restructuring, and about the problems and tasks of restructuring. THE WASHINGTON POST summed it up as follows: The Soviet writers "said their bit about openness and its impact on literature."

"The restructuring began with the help of literature and it demands effort and hard work from every one of us," Andrey Bitov said.

"The United States is a rich country," poet Oleg Chukhontsev said, "but we are richer, at least in one thing--our hopes." According to his words writers now are having a harder time than before restructuring because restructuring has, like a spotlight, shown up what has true worth in literature and what has not. O. Chukhontsev is confident that very interesting phenomena will emerge in Soviet literature.

I asked John Updike, the famous prose writer, to sum up the results of the Washington writers' forum.

"I found this conference very useful and instructive," he said, "it was attended by a representative group of writers. I was impressed by all that I learned about the literature of national and ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, in our country we only get an abstract view of their existence.

"What is impressive is the general spirit of hope felt by people in the Soviet Union. Many years ago I visited the Soviet Union and since that time I have tried to keep in touch with Soviet literature.

"Without any doubt, people in the USSR follow Western literature more attentively and know more about American literature and life in the United States than we know about the Soviet Union. Cultural exchanges must be honest and I believe that we can expect more translations of USSR authors' works into English and other languages. I am waiting impatiently for the publication of more Russian and Soviet writers' works in the United States."

/12913

CSO: 1800/640



## NEED FOR ARABIC-KAZAKH DICTIONARY STRESSED

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata OAZAO ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 20 March 1987 carries on page 15 a 200-word letter to the editor by K. Aytughanov titled "An Arabic-Kazakh Dictionary Is Needed." The letter notes the on-going emphasis on Kazakh and Russian bilingualism in the republic and stresses the need for competence in other languages as well, including Arabic. But here, Aytughanov laments, there is an almost total lack of materials with which to learn and use the language, most notably an Arabic-Kazakh dictionary. He calls for the creation of such materials in the near future as a matter of urgency. /6662

CSO: 1832/419

## IZVESTIYA ON FAILURES OF ANTIALCOHOL CAMPAIGN

PM200821 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 12 May 1987 Morning Edition carries on page 3 a 2,500-word roundup of correspondent reports on problems encountered in the antialcohol campaign, under the headline "The Way to a Sober Life-style" and the rubric "IZVESTIYA Spot-Check."

The article is prefaced by an editorial introduction, as follows: "As statistics show, in the last 2 years the number of deaths resulting from alcohol-related accidents, poisoning, and trauma has fallen, the number of alcohol-related crimes has been reduced by almost 25 percent, and the number of cases of absenteeism and accidents at work caused by drunkenness has likewise diminished. For the first time in 10 years the average life expectancy has reached 69 years, while the number of children born with a low birth weight has been reduced by 8 percent. All this is the result of the antialcohol measures taken by the party and the government. The Soviet Union is now one from bottom among the European countries in terms of the amount of alcohol sold per capita of the population (in pure alcohol equivalent). Alcohol consumption has fallen from 8.4 liters per person in 1984 to 4.4 liter in 1986.

"Nevertheless, it is still too early to be patting ourselves on the back. This is shown by the following reports from our own correspondents."

The first report by R. Bikmukhametov from Magadan under the heading "Magadan's Hot Spots" opens with the following information:

"Today Magadan's wine stores can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Restaurants are operating on a nonalcohol basis. In the last year alone the sale of spirits in the city has been halved and vodka sales have fallen by a factor of five. These measures have resulted in greater order in production and in public places and a sharp drop in the number of 'drunken' brawls and crimes. It might seem that combating drunkenness has become easier and simpler for the militia. In reality, however, things are quite different.

"'Heavy drinking is being disguised,' Ye. Chugunov, chief of the city militia department, said. 'People who love their drink are finding access to bases and warehouses where spirits are stored. Breaches of alcohol trade regulations and profiteering have become more frequent. In homes, illegal trade centers have sprung up which operate at night. Our work has changed accordingly and

we are looking for effective methods to combat phenomena like these."

R. Bikmukhametov goes on to describe the negligent attitude taken by enterprises and associations regarding known violations of antialcohol legislation by their workers.

The second report, by V. Kulagin from Orel under the heading "All Concern Is for Reporting Back," centers on the activity of the Orel Oblast Council of the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Fight for Sobriety. "There is some information," he says. "according to figures provided by the oblispolkom commission to combat drunkenness, in the past year 30,000 people found to be in violation of antialcohol legislation were arrested in the oblast, more than 1,000 cases involving home-distilled vodka were brought to light, and 1,500 people turned up for work in a state of intoxication. If we add to this the fact that there are more than 15,000 chronic alcoholics in the oblast, we can draw the disconcerting conclusion that results are not determined merely by the numerical strength of the Society for the Fight for Sobriety. Neither, incidentally, are they determined by the number of posters, appeals, reports, information reports, letters, or resolutions which reek of formalism a mile off."

The third report, by N. Lisovenko from Donetsk under the heading "Moonshiners Now Being Taken for Granted," deals with the subject of increasing public apathy toward the fight against home vodka producers and consumers. "In the first quarter of this year," he reports, "militia workers confiscated in cities and villages throughout Donetsk Oblast approximately 500 pieces of home distilling equipment manufactured, as a rule, at work using nonferrous metals, stainless steel, and other high-quality materials. Home distilling in Donetsk Oblast reached its peak in 1984 when 13,503 home vodka producers were exposed. After the adoption of antialcohol legislation home distilling declined sharply but has suddenly reared its head again. Underground distillers have now moved to cities in the Donbass from rural areas. Whereas 1,708 home vodka distilling centers were discovered in the first quarter of 1986, the figure for the same period this year is 2,071.

"What is alarming is that the public's sharply negative attitude toward home distillers has gradually been replaced by toleration. It has become particularly difficult to expose those who produce vodka for themselves. As a rule, not only the militia but even their closest neighbors are unaware of them. Something out of the ordinary has to happen for these secrets to come to light."

The fourth and final report, by A. Shcherbakov from Krasnoyarsk under the heading "What People Standing in Line Are Saying," discusses discrepancies in the availability of vodka, other spirits, and even soft drinks throughout the country. "According to the results for last year and the year before, the reduction in alcohol sales in the kray is impressive--from 11 to 6 liters per person. But higher trade organizations have recently begun to reincorporate spirits in trade turnover plans, although they had previously been removed from these plans. They are doing this secretly. They supposedly pay bonuses to trade leaders only for overfulfilling the plan without the sale of spirits, but they are actually demanding that the whole plan be fulfilled.

"The problem of people 'clubbing together to buy a bottle of spirits' has appeared again. For the sake of meeting cash plan targets, local authorities are beginning to turn a blind eye to the actual sources of trade revenue and to the fact that spirits are once again becoming profitable. It is high time we realized that people need good-quality products in the stores rather than beautiful bottles. And the attempt to substitute alcohol for commodities will cast us back to the old times."

In an editorial conclusion IZVESTIYA points out that "Society is now beginning to come up against serious problems on its way to a sober life-style. We have not had enough goods in reserve to compensate for losses in trade turnover. The leisure problem has not been resolved. Home distilling of vodka has become widespread. Administrative measures are not enough in this respect --this social evil can only be eradicated through joint efforts by the whole of society and every one of us individually."

/6662

CSO: 1830/548



## HEALTH MINISTRY OFFICIAL CLARIFIES ANONYMOUS ALCOHOLISM TREATMENT

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 15 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 500-word article by A. Moskvichev, USSR deputy minister of health, on anonymous treatment of alcoholism. Moskvichev notes that although officials in all republics have been instructed to set up appropriate offices and out-patient departments for anonymous treatment, there are still instances in which local health authorities are not establishing such facilities and are not providing the public with necessary information. The Ministry of Health has ordered that announcements be posted for offices and out-patient departments explaining services offered, work hours, address, telephone number, and the availability of treatment without a certificate or presentation of a passport. Medical help must also be available at these facilities for treatment of other types of substance abuse. The Ministry of Health has also allowed the directors of narcological hospitals to hospitalize chronic alcoholics regardless of their official residence and without direction from local health authorities. Treatment may be shortened depending on the planned length of the individual's stay in that locale. Information on the individual's release may not be sent to his hometown. /6662

CSO: 1830/539

LENINGRAD POLICE ALERT PUBLIC: MURDERER AT LARGE

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 87 p 4

[Unsigned article: "Killer Sought!"]

[Text] Today many Leningrad residents are asking questions (including questions over the phone to the editorial staff): "What is happening in the city?... Why are there so many militia officers everywhere?... Why are they checking cars even at night? What happened?..."

Our correspondent I. FEDOROV asked the chief of the Lenoblgorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration, Lieutenant General A. A. KUROKOV to answer these questions.

"Yes, something did happen... Only not in Leningrad, but on the Sverdlovsk-Leningrad train. A very dangerous criminal murdered several people and disappeared."

First of all, here is what we know about the criminal. He is Sakalauskas Adolfovich Arturas, born in Lithuania in 1966. Here are his vital statistics: height 175 centimeters, face--oval, dark complexion, pimples, eyes--dark grey, hair--black, medium length, forehead--high.

Furthermore, we know that he got off the train at Babayevo station and obtained a change of clothing by devious means. He changed into a brown fur half-coat with strap, a black synthetic leather jacket with buttons, and a black hand-knit pullover sweater. He is wearing a khaki colored shirt and tie. His cap is red large-knit wool. He is wearing box-calf army boots. (Obviously he may have changed clothes once again).

He was last seen in Babayevo carrying a briefcase. The briefcase is black with a plastic handle, lock closure and tie strap.

We cannot be sure if he took the next train (or another form of transport) to Leningrad, but we cannot exclude this possibility. It is quite probable that he is currently in our city.

Anyone having any information about the criminal (including passengers who might have travelled with him to Leningrad) is asked to phone: 278-37-18, 278-28-03, 278-35-35, 278-28-56 or 02.

We have two comments in conclusion. First: the criminal might be carrying someone else's documents. Second: if you should happen to meet him, do not take any action on your own. He is armed and dangerous. As mentioned above, you need only to report him to us by telephone.

CAR BOMB, PARCEL BOMB EXPLOSIONS REPORTED IN ASHKHABAD

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 10 May 87 p 4

[Article by D. Azanova under the rubric "Rumors and Facts"]

[Text] The most unusual rumors are circulating in Ashkhabad. They say that a criminal group is active, that several people have been killed, that the criminals cover their tracks easily, that they are uncatchable.

The newspaper receives telephone calls and letters asking us to explain what is really happening.

So, the facts.

On 23 March a Volga left the housing unit Gaudan "V" at around 5 o'clock in the morning. B. Atalanov was at the wheel. After several seconds, when the car had gone one hundred meters, an explosion was heard, awakening the housing unit's residents. The Volga's owner was injured. He was taken to the hospital. His life is now out of danger. Close to a month after the first incident, a second occurred. A resident of Ashkhabad, Khudayberdy Nurlayev, received a package and took it home. He began to open it with his younger brother Mukhamed and his sister Doyduk. He had barely opened the cover when the explosion occurred. Kh. Nurlayev was killed. His sister was seriously wounded, and 17-year-old Mukhamed was also injured.

Commentary of Ashkhabad's prosecutor E.N. Novzhilov:

"I have to say these occurrences are extraordinary. However, rumors about the number killed are greatly exaggerated.

"Without a doubt an investigation is being conducted. One of the suspects in the parcel bomb explosion has been arrested. The car bomb picture is becoming clearer. But in the interests of the investigation details are being withheld. Later on TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA readers will learn the names of the criminals and the circumstances surrounding these extraordinary occurrences. Incidentally, these two incidents are not related.

"Returning to the tense conditions in the city, I should add that they do not correspond to the facts. I must emphasize that in comparison with last year in Ashkhabad, conditions are considerably calmer, and crimes have been fewer. Law enforcement authorities are taking active measures to prevent crimes."

# ALMA-ATA GRAVEYARD VANDALS SENTENCED

PM270815 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 87 p 3

[Unredacted KAZATG correspondent report under the rubric "From the Courtroom": "Desecrators"]

[Text] Drunkenness and immorality made criminals of these boys. The outrage they committed against graves at Alma-Ata's "Kensay" cemetery angered not only the inhabitants of Alma-Ata but also those of other cities and villages. The Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the republic's MVD received hundreds of letters in this connection. Their writers, like the participants in residents' meetings, demanded strict punishment for the culprits.

Bearing in mind the citizens' numerous proposals and wishes, the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a decree increasing criminal liability for outrages against the memory of the dead and for causing material damage and carrying out cynical actions in a cemetery.

The investigation established that some time after 1500 hours on 30 March 22-year-old S. Malikov, a galvanizer at the "Kzyl-Tu" Production Association, suggested to the minors O. Pyadyk, I. Mukhamadullin, V. Gorpinenko, and Ye. Osipenko that they buy some liquor and "go for a walk." The youngest--Ye. Osipenko--was the only one who was trying liquor for the first time. The others had repeatedly drunk both wine and vodka.

Their parents did not censure them for drinking liquor and for their idleness. Some, considering their sons to be sickly and weak, had protected them from work, others had greatly indulged their children, supplying them with money for vodka and cigarettes. Three of the five who landed in the dock were raised in unprosperous families.

Pondering what brought the youths to crime and moral decline, one cannot fail to see the guilt of teacher, social organizations, and those who associated with them, who affected not to notice their misdemeanors, minor at first, then increasingly serious.

The damage caused was set at more than R42,000. The memorials have been replaced out of state funds, and the expenditure will subsequently be reimbursed by the culprits and their parents.



The Kazakh SSR Supreme Court judicial collegium for criminal affairs under the chairmanship of A.I. Filippov, member of the Supreme Court, sentenced S. Malikov to 7 years' imprisonment in a strict regime colony. O. Pyadyk and I. Mukhamadullin were sentenced to 5 years in a corrective labor colony for minors, and V. Gorpinenko and Ye. Osipenko were given a 3-year suspended sentence.

At the suggestion of the public prosecutor the court submitted interlocutory rulings about the Alma-Ata Commissions for Minors' Affairs, which allow many shortcomings in work with teenagers from unprosperous families.

/6662

CEO: 1830/547

## NO KAZAKH ALTERNATIVE AVAILABLE TO CORRUPTING WESTERN MUSIC

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 6 March 1987 carries on page 15 a 1,600-word article by Ghulbahram Zhebesinova titled "If You Collect Sheet Music, From Whom Will You Obtain It?" The article stresses the importance of music as a vital part of the Kazakh cultural tradition and castigates the current non-availability of sheet music containing Kazakh musical materials, something of great potential importance for the musical education of a new generation. As a result, Zhebesinova goes on, Kazakh young people are becoming increasingly divorced from their own Kazakh musical traditions and are being exposed only to Western-style music, which instills the wrong values in them. She suggests, in fact, that many antisocial attitudes of Kazakh young people today are by and large due to the non-Kazakh music which they are being continually exposed to in absence of any alternatives. /6662

## KAZAKH LITERATURE STILL NEGLECTED IN SCHOOLS

"Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 23 January 1987 carries on pages 10-11 a 3,600-word article by Orazbek Sarsenbayev, published under the rubric "Thoughts To Share," titled "First a Well-rounded Person, Only After That a Specialist." The article scores continued neglect of literature--primarily Kazakh literature--in Kazakh schools in spite of changes promised in this area by school reform proposals.

School reform proposals, Sarsenbayev notes, have called for a complete revamping of the teaching of Kazakh literature at all grade levels, including the issuance of new, carefully graded textbooks interconnected at each level. However, Sarsenbayev goes on, these texts have not appeared (although he does outline planned content) and schools continue to use texts written 20-30 years ago. Texts not only are outdated in content but they fail to place literature in its full historical and social context. Also, Sarsenbayev shows, even if the texts appear by 1990 as planned, insufficient attention has still been devoted to preparing for the introduction of the new literature program, above all in preparing teachers for what will come and what is needed.

Throughout his article, Sarsenbayev stresses the importance of a well-rounded education, including literature. He deplores what he sees as a republic-wide downgrading of literature as witnessed by the slighting of Kazakh literature in college entrance examinations. /6662

## KAZAKHS, LANGUAGE 'NEGLECTED' IN KOKSHETAU OBLAST

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata AQZAO ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 13 March 1987 carries on pages 13-14 a 3,000-word article by AQZAO ADEBIYETI special reporter Iranbek Orazbayev, published under the rubric "The Writer and Life," titled "Journey." The article looks in detail at the plight of 170,000 Kokshetau Oblast Kazakhs who are suffering from a severe neglect of their culture and their language and who are, as a result, living a life of increasing isolation.

Orazbayev shows, for example, how the oblast Kazakh paper has only a very small readership (15,000) in view of the large number of Kazakhs living in the area, suggesting a serious neglect of written Kazakh in the oblast by the Kazakh minority; how local literary Kazakh figures are largely ignored and inactive; and how Kazakh literary and arts figures of the past and present are uncelebrated in general within the oblast. Moreover, effective use of Kazakh (alongside Russian) in the schools is frowned upon and discouraged as a possible "impediment" to children's education. /6662

## KaSSR: INSUFFICIENT EFFORTS TO PROMOTE BILINGUALISM

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata AQZAO ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 13 March 1987 carries on pages 6-7 a 2,100-word article by AQZAO ADEBIYETI special reporter Amirkhan Mengdekeyev, published under the rubric "School Reform, An Honored Duty," titled "Is Bilingualism Really So Difficult?" The article looks at sadly inadequate training in Russian in Kazakh schools and even poorer training in Kazakh in Russian schools in Tyulkubasskiy rayon of Chimkent Oblast and some reasons for the inadequacies uncovered.

The problem, Mengdekeyev notes, is due above all to failure to push bilingualism far enough and to insist that teaching of Kazakh and Russian respectively are taken seriously in Kazakh and Russian (and other nationality) schools. The result is Kazakh school graduates who are unable to compose a simple essay in Russian after 10 years of training, and graduates of Russian schools for whom the simplest phrase in Kazakh is a complete mystery.

Also a source of difficulty, Mengdekeyev makes clear, is the failure of Kazakh and Russian children (and adults for that matter) to interact outside the school (the school alone, Mengdekeyev emphasizes, cannot be the sole source of bilingualism) and the failure of parents to use Kazakh or Russian respectively at home as examples to their children. Thus, Mengdekeyev concludes, a major overhaul is needed not only of the educational system but also of popular attitudes and realities if the highly desired goal of bilingualism is to be attained. /6662

CSO: 1832/420

## KAZAKH FACTORY CHOOSES MANAGER OF NEW TYPE

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 3 March 1987 carried on page 1 a 1,400-word article by SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN reporter M. Abughaliyev, published under the rubric "An Era of Change: Work With Cadres," titled "Why the Director Was Shifted." The article looks both at the reasons behind the ousting of an old director--authoritarian management, failure to establish contact with actual production, failure to understand economic and technological changes, failure to insist on order and responsibility--at the Oskemen Tool Factory and the kind of characteristics needed in the new manager, who turned out to be an individual once blocked and forced out of his job by the old manager. The need now, Abughaliyev stresses, is for democratic management with shared responsibility and broad interconnection between those in management and workers, although with strict attention to order and responsibility as well. Managers of the old kind (and party officials who support them) can no longer be tolerated if progress is to be made as restructuring goes forward. /6662

## FOOD SUPPLIES TO KAZAKH CONSUMERS IMPROVE

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 11 March 1987 carried on page 1 a 1,100-word boldface editorial titled "Guaranteeing Supplies of Food--A Responsible Duty." The editorial notes the substantial effort which has been made since 1982 to improve food supplies to Soviet consumers and goes on to suggest that, in fact, these efforts have begun to pay off and yield tangible results. For example, the editorial notes, the Kazakh total agricultural production was up 11 percent in 1986 over 1985 (15 percent for crops, 8 percent for products of animal husbandary), something which has, the editorial goes on to show, translated into improved supplies in the stores. This year, for example, daily supplies of meat to the inhabitants of Alma-Ata are up 75 tons to 300 tons, supplies of butter are up 15 tons to 40 tons, and supplies of milk products are up 230 tons to 750 tons a day.

The editorial goes on to stress, moreover, that these gains are not just on paper, i.e., statistical gains, but represent real improvements in supplies to consumers. Throughout the editorial it is made clear that it is above all improvement in the retail outlet system which has made these achievements possible. There is now, for example, a crash program underway to expand freezer capacity in retail outlets drastically to reduce food loss once it has left the producer. /6662



## COMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT IN KAZAKHSTAN DETAILED

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata BILIM ZHANE ENGBEK in Kazakh No 3, March 1987 carries on pages 18-19 a 1,200-word article by Qazyken Bazylov, KaSSR deputy minister of communications, published under the rubric "Broad Prospects for Scientific and Technological Progress," titled "Communications: Today and Tomorrow." The article details plans for communications development during the current 5-year plan and in the long term.

Among other things, these plans call for greatly enhanced telephone and telegraph connections, particularly between regions and cities, and for drastically improved services to users. Also planned are expansions of television broadcasting ranges and increased availability of several channels throughout the republic, particularly in rural areas. The proportion of republic inhabitants able to receive a television channel is to be increased to 89 to 97 percent, while 87 percent will be able to receive Kazakh programming by the end of the current 5-year plan. At the same time, radio broadcasting will be expanded substantially as well. In the future 100 percent of urban inhabitants will be able to receive two national and two local stations and 95 percent of rural inhabitants will be able to receive the two national and one local station.

Postal service will also be improved. This will be accomplished, among other things, through automatic letter processing equipment in 15 oblasts (already accomplished in 1986 in Alma-Ata). /6662

## KaSSR: LABOR UNIONS NOT KEEPING PACE WITH TIMES

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 13 March 1987 carries on page 1 a 900-word boldface editorial titled "Labor Unions--Defenders of the Interests of Workers." The editorial looks at the role of labor unions in the present era of Soviet socioeconomic development. Some unions are criticized, however, for failure to keep pace with the times, in terms both of supporting implementation of decisions passed on from above, and of protecting and furthering the rights and interests (with increased democratization) of the workers themselves. The need for labor union intervention in key on-going programs such as the current housing buildup is stressed. /6662

## CANNED MILK PRODUCTION URGED IN KAZAKHSTAN

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 3 March 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,300-word article by SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN special reporter Q. Zhoyqynbekov, published under the rubric "Guaranteeing Supplies of Foodstuffs--A Responsible Duty," titled "Let Us Deal Evenhandedly With What Is Available." The article looks at the problem of republic-wide shortage of canned milk, all of which is imported from other republic, and ways to overcome it.

Zhoyqynbekov shows that there is no reason whatever not to begin production of canned milk locally. Not only does a substantial demand exist which is not

now being met, but substantial quantities of milk which could be canned are being wasted through spoilage in stores short of freezer capacity. Even in milk-short areas, he goes on, planned increases in output will be more than adequate to meet needs for milk to can.

In the course of his discussion, Zhoyqynbekov makes abundantly clear the great inefficiencies of the KaSSR milk processing industry, the plant base for which is largely antiquated. As a result, Zhoyqynbekov continues, a substantial portion of the product of the industry is presently unfit for human consumption. /6662

CSO: 1832/421

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